

THE
Secret History
OF
K. JAMES I.
AND
K. CHARLES I.
Compleating the Reigns
OF THE
Four last Monarchs.

By the Author of the
Secret History of
K. Charles II. and K. James II.

Printed in the Year 1690.

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THE
AND
K. CHARLES I.
Completing the Reign
OF THE
Four last Monarchs

By the Author of the
Early History of
K. CHARLES I. and K. James II.

Printed in the Year

THE
P R E F A C E.

TH O' we ought not
rashly to rake in-
to the Ashes of
Princes, and expose either
their Personal Miscarri-
ages, or their Failures,
in Management of the Go-
vernment; yet, no doubt,
but the making them Pub-
lick, may sometimes con-
tribute, not a little, to the
General Good: This is evi-
dent,

A 2 .

The PREFACE.

dent, from the Effects^{of} our
Secret History of the
Two last Monarchs;
since by it, the most wilfully
Blind may be convinced how
infinitely Happy we are, un-
der their present Majesty's
Government; beyond what
we were, in the late Reigns;
which were but a very in-
considerable matter (if any
thing) below the French
Tyranny; and by set-
ting the unparallel'd Ver-
tues, that are so Resplen-
dent in our Gracious So-
veraigns,

The PREFACE.

veraigns, in opposition to those Ignominious Vices that reigned in the Other, we may, with all the reason in the World, assure our selves of a lasting Peace; and as much Happiness under Them Now, as we had Troubles and Confusions under the Former: For Their Religion, Integrity, and Moderation, (which must always be in conjunction with Princes, that are truly Patres Patriæ,) are as Notorious to

The PREFACE.

*the World, (so that Their
greatest Enemies cannot
deny them) as were the A-
theism, and furious Bigot-
tism of the Two former
Reigns; Vices much of the
same pernicious Consequen-
ces to a Kingdom, if the
latter be not the more dan-
gerous; since the greatest
Villanies, that ever were
perpetrated in the World,
have been Masqued with
seeming Zeal for Religion.*

*But since there are not a
few, who, tho' they seem to
decry*

The PREFACE.

ir decry the Tyrannies of the
ot Two late Kings, yet ap-
*l-*prove of much the same
*t-*Actions of the Two that
er Preceded Them, (One of
be whom, some Men have
*n-*Vainly, if not Blasphemously,
be compared to the King of
*n-*Kings.) I thought it not
st amiss, to Communicate a
re few Passages of Their
d, Reigns, that do not so com-
*th*monly occur; especially
n. since they laid the Foun-
a dations of that Tyranny,
to which the Others brought
y to

The PREFACE.

to so great a Perfection.
As to the former of Them,
viz. K. James I. it will
easily appear, from this fol-
lowing History, what great
steps He made towards Ty-
ranny: It is certain, That
the reason He gave for
setting up Episcopacy in
Scotland was, That He
might have so many Friends
to rely upon in Parliament,
i. e. That by them, as the
Dead-Weight, He might
the better carry on His
Designs there: And herein
bis

The P R E F A C E.

His Politicks did not deceive Him; for, by their Means, He and his Successors, found it no hard matter to reduce that Kingdom to as great Slavery, as any ~~in~~ Europe hath groaned under of late Years. How great a Proficient He was, in the Art of Dissimulation, or King-Craft, will be no less apparent: I shall only insert one Instance of it Here, which I omitted in the History, especially, because I
think

The PREFACE

think it may not be ungrateful to the Reader, viz. That after His return from Denmark to Scotland, seeming mightily satisfied with the Care the Kirk-Party had taken to preserve the Kingdom in Peace, during his Absence; He was pleased to express himself thus, in a general Assembly, 'That He blest God, that 'He was Born at sike a 'Time of the Gospel, and 'to be King of sike a Kirk, 'the purest Kirk in the World:

The PREFACE.

World: The Kirk of Geneva, says He, keep Yeul and Pasch; What have they from the Word of God for that? And for our Neighbour Kirk of England, What is their Service, but an ill said Mass in English? And concluded with the Solemnest Promises, to Maintain & Preserve the Kirk; when (in the mean while) He was taking all underhand Methods to Supplant it, as He did a few Years after.

And

The PREFACE.

And as to His Successor, tho' a Kalender'd Saint; yet after all the lying Insinuations of Self-designing, and -----riden Persons, of that Princes singular Religion, that very Act of Instituting Plays and Sports on the Lord's-Day, is no extraordinary Proof of it. Nay, it would be as easie to perswade a Person of any Religion, to believe, that the Alcharon is the Word of God, as that a Prince, of any Religion, could be guilty of so Irreligious an Act, as that was: But I will not weary the Reader's Patience with a large Preface, since the very Subject of the following History will recommend it self sufficiently to the Perusal of all Lovers of our English Liberties.

T H E
Secret History, &c.

QUEEN *Elizabeth*, of Glorious and Happy Memory, Dying the 24th of *March*, 1602, about Three in the Morning, to the great grief of all Her loving Subjects in general : About Nine in the Morning of the same day, was Proclaimed King *James*, by the Name of *JAMES the First* : And now many post into *Scotland*, for to get Preferment, by purchasing Friends with their Purse, (Gold and Silver being a precious Commodity in that Climate, and would obtain any thing) which did procure Suits, Honours, and Offices to any that first came.

B

And

And now all Preparations was made to meet the KING in *York*, that he might, in that *Northern Metropolis*, appear like a King of *England*, and take that State on him there, which was not known in *Scotland*: There met Him all the Lords of the Council, and there did they all make Court to the *Scotch-Men*, that were most in favour with the King; and there did the *Scotch Courtiers* lay the first Foundation of their *English Fortunes*; the chief of them was Sir *George Hewme*, a kind of Favorite; but not such as after appeared, with young Faces and smooth Chins; but one that for his Wisdom and Gravity had been in some Secret Counsels with his Master, which created that dearness between them; and the chief of those Secrets was that of *Gowry's Conspiracy*, though that Nation gave little credit to the Story, but would speak both slightly and despitefully of it; and those, the Wisest of that Nation; knowing indeed there

de there was no such Conspiracy ; yet,
 he that the World might be still abused,
 lis, they continued to Mock Almighty
 nd GOD, by a Weekly Commemoration
 ch in the *Tuesday's* Sermon, and an An-
 ere niversity-Feast, as great as it was pos-
 cil, sible, for the Kings Preservation, ever
 to on the Fifth of *August* : And I with
 Fa the effects of those *Sermons* in the *Fa-*
 d *ther's* time, were not one cause of God's
 An-Anger towards the Son.

the Sir Robert Cecil, by the means of
 me, Sir George Hewme (the Favorite,)
 a as contrary to most Peoples expectations,
 and not only gets into the Favour of King
 his *James*, but in such dearness and pri-
 me vacy with the King, as if he had been
 er, his Faithful Servant for many Years ;
 een his Friends, Wit, or Wealth, did not
 ets, raise him so much (as some believ'd)
 igh as the ill Offices done by him to this
 the Nation, in discovering the Nature of
 ntly the People, and shewing the King the
 the way how to enhance his *Prerogative*
 leed above the *Laws*, that he might
 here

Enslave the Nation; which, though it took well then, yet it hath been of sad and dangerous consequence in after-times; for, first, he caused great numbers of *Parliament Precedents*, concerning the *Liberties of the Subject*, to be burnt; next, raising Two Hundred Thousand Pounds, for making Two Hundred Baronets; telling the King, *He should find his English Subjects like Asses, on whom he might lay any Burthen*; but this Statesman died soon after very Miserable, coming from Bath, and was Buried on the top of a *Mole-Hill*, near *Marleborough*. The principal Managers of the *English Affairs*, were *Salisbury, Suffolk, Northampton, Buckhurst, Egerton*, Lord-keeper, *Worcester*, and the Old Admiral: For the Scots, Sir *George Hewme*, now Earl of *Dunbar*, Secretary *Elfeston*, and the Lord of *Kintofs*. *Salisbury* had now shaken off all those that were great with him in Queen *Elizabeth's* days; as, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *G. Carew*,

gh Carew, the Lord Grey, and the Lord
of Cobham.

Now begins Ambassadors to appear
from divers Princes ; the chief was
Roney, Duke of Sullia, from the *French*
King ; the Constable of *Castile*, from
the *Spanish* King ; the Count *Arrem-*
burgh, from the *Arch-Duke* : To bring
these *Ambassadors* over, were appoin-
ted Sir *Robert Mansel*, being Admiral,
and Sir *J. Turner*, his Vice-Admiral,
to bring over the *French* and *Spanish*
Ambassadors, in which happened some
the Dispute.

The Constable of *Castile* so plyed
his Masters business, (in which he
spared for no cost) that he procured
a Peace, so advantageous for *Spain*, and
so disadvantageous for *England*, that
It and all Christendome have since both
seen and felt the lamentable effects
thereof : There was not one Courtier
of note, that tasted not of *Spain's*
Bounty, either in Gold or Jewels ;
G. and among them, not any in so large

a proportion, as the Countess of *Sussex* folk, who shared in her Lords Interest, that in truth *Audley-end*, that Famous Structure, had its Foundation of *Spanish-Gold*.

G O D, for some secret Intent, (best known to himself) laid the Foundation of this King's Reign with the greatest *Plague* or *Mortality*, ever before heard of in this Kingdom; and some by that judged what his future Reign would be: He was forced by that Contagion to leave the *Metropolis* and go into a by-corner in *Wilt-shire*, in which time of his Abode there, a kind of *Treason* broke forth; but what it was, as no Man then could tell, so it is left with so dark a Comment that Posterity will never understand the Text, or remember any such *Treason*: This pretended Plot consisted of *Protestants*, *Puritans*, *Papists* and *Archeists*; a strange medly, you will say, to meet in one and the same *Treason*, and keep Counsel, which surely

surely they did, because they knew
 not of any: The *Protestants* were, the
 Lord *Cobham*, and *George Brook* his
 Brother; the one very Learned and
 Wise, the other a most silly Lord: The
Paritan, the Lord *Grey of Walton*, a
 very hopeful Gentleman: The *Papists*,
Watson and *Clark*, Priests; and *Par-*
ham, a Gentleman: The *Atheist*, Sir
W. Rawleigh, then generally so belie-
 ved, though after brought by Affliction
 (the best School-Mistress) to be
 (and so Died) a most Religious Gen-
 tleman. This *Sham-Plot* was chiefly
 designed by *Salisbury*, in which he
 has a double benefit; first, in rid-
 ing himself of such as he feared would
 have been Thorns in his sides; se-
 condly, by endearing himself to the
 King, by shewing his diligence and
 vigilancy for his Safety.

They were all Araigned of Treason
 at *Winchester*; whither the King
 sent some secretly to observe all Pas-
 sages; upon whose true and faithful

Relations of the Innocency of the Persons Arraigned, and slight proof upon which they were Condemned, he would not be drawn to Sign any Warrant for the Execution of *Rawleigh*, *Cobham*, and *Grey*: For *Rawleigh's* defence, it was so brave and just, as (had he not wilfully Cast himself, out of very weariness, as unwilling to detain the Company any longer) no Jury could ever have Cast him.

Yet Sir *W. Rawleigh* was Executed many years after for the same Treason, as much against all Justice, as beyond all Reason and Precedent. Yea, after he had been a General by the Kings Commission, and had, by that, Power of the Lives of many others, utterly against the Civil Law, which saith, *He that hath Power of the Lives of others, ought to be Master of his Own*. But the *Spaniard* was so Powerful at that time at Court, as that Faction could command the Life of any Man, that might prove dangerous to their

De-

Designs: His Death was by him managed with so High, Generous, and Religious a Resolution, as if a Roman had acted a Christian, or rather a Christian a Roman. During his Imprisonment, he was Delivered of that *Minerva*, The History of the *World*.

Now did the great Mannagers of the State (of which *Salisbury* was Chief,) after they had Packed the Cards, begin to deal the Government of the Kingdom among themselves; yet, for all their setting their Cards, and playing their Games to their own advantages, there was one Knave in the Pack would couzen their designs, and Trump in their way, if he might not share with them in their winning; and that was one *Lake*, a Clerk of the Signet, afterwards made Secretary, and after that turned out in disgrace. This *Lake* was a fellow of mean Birth, and meaner Breeding, being an under Servant to make Fires in Secretary *Walsingham's* Chamber; and there got

some experience; which afterwards, in this King's Time, made him appear an able Man, which in *Q. Eliz.* Time, when there was none in Court but Men of Eminency, made him an inconsiderable Fellow: This *Lake* had linked himself with the *Scotch* Nation, helping them (*per fas aut nefas*) to fill their Purses, &c. For his good Service of abusing his Country and Countrymen, he was made Clerk of the Signet, to wait on the King in his Hunting Journies; and in these Journies got all the Bills Signed, even for the greatest Lords, (all Packets being addressed to him,) so that *Salisbury*, and *Northampton*, and the greatest Lords, made Court to him: By this means did he raise himself from a mean, to a great Fortune; but much over-awed by his Wife, which after proved his overthrow; besides, he would tell Tales, and let the King know the passages at Court, and great Men, as who was *Salisbury's* Mistress,

and

and who governed all; who governed *Northampton*; and discovered the Bawdery, which did infinitely please the King's Humour; and in truth, had so much Craft, as he served his turn upon all, but was Ingrossed by none, but by the Bed-Chamber; who stuck so close to him, that they could not yet remove him. And now do the *English* Faction (seeing they could not sever the *Scots* from him) endeavour to raise a Mutiny against the *Scots* that were his Supporters; their Agents divulging every where, *The Scots would get all, and would Beggar the Kingdom*: The *Scots*, on the other side complain to the King, they were so poor they under-went the by-word of *Beggarly-Scots*: To which the King returned this Answer, *Content yourselves, I will shortly make the English as Beggarly as you*, and so ended that Controversie: This is as true, as he truly performed it; for however he enriched many, in particular, as *Salisbury*,

bury, Suffolk, Northampton, Worcester, Lake, &c. yet he did beggar Himself, and the Nation in general.

But they that lived at Court, and were curious Observers of every Mans Actions, could have then affirmed, That *Salisbury, Suffolk, and Northampton*, and their Friends, did get more than the whole Nation of *Scotland*, (*Dunbar* excepted;) for what-ever others got, they spent here, only *Dunbar* laid a Foundation of a great Family.

To take off the Subjects Eyes from observing the Indulgency used by *K. James*, in behalf of the *Papists* (whom, though he had no cause to Love, he thought he found reason enough to Fear) a Quarrel was revived (now almost asleep, because it had long escaped Persecution, the Bellows of Schisme) with a People stiled *Puritans*, who meeting no nearer a definition than the Name, all the conscientious
Men

Men in the Nation shared the Contempt; neither was any charged with it, though in the best relation thought competent for Preferment in Church or State; which made the Bad glory in their Impiety: Court-Sermons were fraught with bitter Invectives against these People, whom they seated in a Class far nearer the Confines of *Hell*, than *Papists*: And to avoid the very Imputation of Puritanism (a greater rub in the way of Preferment than Vice) our Divines, for the generality, did Sacrifice more time to *Bacchus*, than *Minerva*; and for their ordinary Studies, they were School Points and Passionate Expressions, as more conversant with the F--- than the Fathers, scoffing in their ordinary Discourse at *Luther* and *Calvin*, but especially at the last; so as a certain Bishop thank'd God he never (though a good Poet himself) had read a Line in him or *Chaucer*. The same used this simile at Court, *That our Religion, like the*
Kings-

Kings-Arms, stood between Two Beasts, the Puritans and Papists. Nor did the Extravagancy of many of the Episcopal Clergy add a little to the Rent, much augmented by the *Scotish Propensity to Presbytery*; nor did the often and sudden Translation of Bishops, from less to greater Sees, give time to visit sufficiently their respective Charges; being more intent upon the Receipt of such Taxes, as a long abused custom had estated them in, than upon Reformation. The Court-Sermons informing His Majesty, He might, as *Christ's Vicegerent*, command all; and that the People, if they denied him Supplement, or enquired after the disposal of it, were Presumptuous Peepers into the Sacred Ark of the State; not to be done, but under the severest Curse, though it appeared likely to fall, thro' the falshood or folly of those at the Helm: But on the contrary, other qualified Preachers did fulminate a

gainst

gainst *Non-Residency, Profanation of the Lords-Day, Connivance at Popery, Persecution of God's People, &c.*

Now, by this time, the Nation grew Feeble, and over-opprest with *Impositions, Monopolies, Aids, Privy-Seals, Concealments, Pretermitted Customs, &c.* besides all Forfeitures upon *Penal Statutes*, with a multitude of more Tricks, to cheat the Subject (the most, if not all, unheard of in *Q. Elizabeth's* days) all spent on Favorites, and other Fooleries: True it is, all Kings cast away Money the Day of their Enthronement, but King *James* did it all his Life.

In this place my Memory presents me with *Sir Robert Cecil*, after Earl of *Salisbury*, famed for a grand Seducer of the King, by perswading him, *This Nation was so Rich, it could neither be Exhausted, nor Provoked*; a Saying generally laid to his Charge, yet contradicted in this Practice of his; for the Earl of *Somerfet*, being in the flower

flower of his Favour, had got a peremptory Warrant to the Treasurer for 20000 L. who, in this his Executive Prudence, finding that not only the *Exchequer*, but the *Indies* themselves, would in time want Fluency to feed so immense a Prodigality; and not without reason, apprehending the King as Ignorant in the value of what was demanded, as the desert of the Person that begged it; and knowing a Pound, upon the *Scotch* Account, would not pay for the Shooing of an Horse, he layed the fore-mentioned Sum upon the ground, in a Room where through which the King was to pass, who, amazed at the quantity, asked the Treasurer, whose Money it was? who answered, *Yours, before your Majesty gave it away*; whereupon the King fell into a Passion, protesting he was abused, and never intended any such Gift; and casting himself upon the heap, scrabled out the quantity of Two or Three Hundred Pounds, and

swore he should have no more.
 The palpable Partiality that de-
 scended from the Father to the *Scots*,
 did estate the whole Love of the *English*
 on his Son *Henry*, whom they enga-
 ged by so much Expectation, as it
 may be doubted, whether it ever lay
 in the Power of any Prince, merely
 of Human, to bring so much Felicity in-
 to a Nation, as they did all his Life
 promise to themselves at the Death of
 King *James*: The Government of the
 Princes House was with much Discre-
 tion, Modesty, Sobriety, and (which
 was looked upon as too great an up-
 raising, the contrary Proceedings of
 his Father) in an high reverence to
 Piety, not Swearing himself, or keep-
 ing any that did; through which, he
 came to be advanced, beyond an ordi-
 nary measure, in the Affections of the
 City; to whom he was not only Plau-
 sible in his Carriage, but just in Pay-
 ments, so far, as his Credit out-reached
 the Kings, both in the *Exchange*, and
 the

the *Church*; in which the *Son* could not take so much Felicity, as the *Father* did Discontent, to find all the Worth he imagined in himself wholly lost in the hopes the People had of this Young Gentleman: From whence Kings may be concluded far more unhappy than ordinary Men; for, tho' whilst Children are Young, they may afford them safety, yet, when arrived at that Age, which useth to bring Comfort to other Parents, they produce only Jealousies and Fears.

And, if common Fame did not outstrip Truth, King *James* was by Fear led into great Extreames, (finding his Son *Henry* not only averse to any *Popish* Match, but saluted by the *Paritans*, as one prefigured in the *Apocalyps*, for *Rome's* Destruction) insinuating, as if the Prince was not kindly dealt withal at his Death; but it is so common with Report to rate the Sickness or Death of Princes, at the price of Poyson; as I should quite have omitted

mitted this conjecture, or left it wholly to the decision of the great Tribunal, was it not certain, that his Father did dread him, and that the King, though he would not deny him any thing he plainly desired, yet, it appeared rather the result of Fear and outward Compliance, than Love and Natural Affection, being harder drawn to confer an Honour or Pardon, in cases of Desert, upon a Retainer to the Prince, than a Stranger: From whence might be calculated a Malignity conceived in his Heart against the Splendor of his Sons Retinue. One day he was called to a remarkable Observation of his Sons Grandeur, by *Archee* his Jester, on the Plains about *New-Market*, when He and the Prince parted, few being left with the Father, and those mean Persons, which drew Tears from him.

One Reason King *James* was so poorly followed, especially in his Journeys, was his Partiality used towards

wards the *Scots*; which hung like Horse-leeches on him, till they could get no more, falling then off, by retiring into their own Country, or living at ease, leaving all chargable attendance to the *English*: The Harvest of the Love and Honour he reaped, being suitable to the ill Husbandry he used in the unadvised distribution of his Favours; for of a number of empty Vessels, he filled to compleat the measure of our Infelicity, unless such as by reason of their vast runnings out, had need daily of a new supply; and amongst these, the Earl of *Carlisle* was one of the *Quorum*, that brought in the vanity of Anti-Suppers, not heard of in our Fore-Fathers time; and for ought I have read, or at least remember, unpractised by the luxurious Tyrants. The manner of which was, to have the Board covered at the first enterance of the Guests, with Dishes as high as a tall Man could well reach, filled with the choicest and dearest

Viands

Viands Sea or Land could afford; and all this once seen, and having feasted the Eyes of the Invited, was in a manner thrown away; and fresh set on to the same height; having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot. I cannot forget one of the Attendants of the King, that at a Feast made by this Monster in Excess, eat to his single share a whole Pye, reckoned to my Lord at Ten Pounds, being composed of Ambergrease, Magesterial of Pearl, Musk, &c. And after such Suppers, huge Banquets no less profuse, a Waiter returning his Servant home with a Cloak-Bag full of dried Sweat-Meats and Confects, valued to his Lordship at more than Ten Shillings the Pound. This Lord lay always under the comfortable Aspect of King *James's* favour, though he was never found in his Bosome, a place reserved for younger Men, and of more endearing Countenances, and these went under the appellation of his Favourites or Minions;

nions; who, like Burning-Glasses, were daily interposed between Him and the Subject, multiplying the heat of Oppressions in the general opinion, tho, in his own, he thought they screened them from reflecting on the Crown. Now, as no other reason appeared in his choice but handsomness; so the love the King shewed, was as amorously conveyed, as if he had mistaken their Sex, and thought them Ladies; which *Somerſet* and *Buckingham* did labour to resemble in the Effeminateness of their Dressings; though in W—looks, and wanton gestures, they exceeded any part of Woman-kind. Nor was his Love, or what else the World will please to call it, carried on with a discretion sufficient to cover a less scandalous Behaviour; for the King kissing them after so lascivious a Mode in Publick, and upon the Theatre (as it were) of the World, prompted many to imagine things done in the Tiring-House, that exceed my Expressions, no less

less than they do my Experience, and therefore left floating upon the Waves of Conjecture, which hath tossed them from one side to another. It's generally said, That the Earl of *Holland*, and some others, refused his Majesties favour upon those conditions They subscribed to, who filled that place in his Affections: *Holland* losing that opportunity his curious Face and complexion afforded him, by turning aside, and spitting after the King had flabbered his Mouth; who, though numbered among the Gods upon Earth, yet any that will be so inquisitive, as to rake in his Dust, may find as many frailties as ever Man stood charged with, of which this was none of the least, doubling the weight of his Oppression; for the setting up of these Golden Calves, cost *England* more than Queen *Elizabeth* spent in all her Wars.

Nor will the Story of the Lord Treasurer *Buckhurst* fall in improperly here;

here ; who, being a very corrupt Man or much abused, did lay claim to some part of the Kentish *Lucy's* Lands, that lay contiguous to his own ; and mistrusting the Integrity of any other, or more legal Tryal, did, by the highness of his Hand, bring it to the Council Table, (where, about that time, many Causes were shamefully carried, and from whence the most excellent Chancellor for parts, that ever sat in that Court, might derive the most Capital of his faults,) and after some Debate the Treasurer standing up, and offering to pull out of his Bosome, Papers that were pretended for their Lordships full and final satisfaction, he fell down Dead, as called to Answer at Higher Tribunal. Neither has any since ever questioned *Lucy's* Land, in the quiet Possession of which, he was thus miraculously Estatic. The Treasurer was much given to Bribery and Women, in the general Opinion, after whom these Verles were sent ; it being

the fashion of the Poets in those days,
to sum up great Mens Virtues or Vices
on their Graves: These, with many
more to a like sence belonged to this
Gentleman.

*Discourteous Death, that wouldst not
once confer,
Or daign to Parley with our Treasurer ;
Had he been Thee, or of thy fatal Tribe,
He would have spar'd a Life to gain a
Bribe.*

Another.

*Here lies a Lord, that Wenching thought
no Sin,
And bought his Flesh, by selling of our
Skin ;
His Name was Sackvile ; and so void of
Pity,
As he did Rob the Country with the City.*

The Match King James made be-
tween Elizabeth his Eldest Daughter,
and the Elector of the Rhyne, contrary

to the grain of many, and the particular desires of her Mother; who looked upon it so much below her, as she could not refrain to call her *Good Wife Palsgrave*, before she had put off her Wedding Shoes. Now, whether it was hope or fear, according to the Opinion of the Catholicks and Politicians, or a supine carelesness and desire to be rid of her with the least Expence, as all the Ladies Friends suggested; or pure Zeal to Religion, as some simple people thought, or, what was most probable, a Composition of all the three first mentioned Passions, induced the King to accept of such mean Conditions, I leave the Reader to Judge; and only observe, that although in Relation to Person and Vertue, she might deservedly hold a Room in the greatest Princes Bed in *Europe*; yet God was not pleased to afford her any outward Blessing, but a multitude of Children, of which the Eldest was unfortunately Drowned, not without

some

some reproach to the Father, and a diminution of the rest in the opinion of the People; that do, though not seldom without a cause, over-value any thing irrecoverably lost; and at last cast her into an Ocean of Calamities, in which she remained a floating Example to other Princes of the instability of Fortune; as she did in Prosperity, for Civility and Goodness. And though none need seek for Reasons, why Judgments should fall upon the Children of Princes, yet her Behaviour was throughout so blameless, as amongst the worst Reports the Papists could raise, nothing appear'd to prove her so great an Actor in Ill, as she was found a Patient in Misery; which makes me in Charity think it came rather by Descent, than Purchase.

It was the Opinion of those Times, that the Elector might have sped better, had he not Matched with *England*; whose King was so timorous, as he suffered all to Perish for want of reason-

able supply, that relied upon his Power; for had his Consort been of weaker Alliance, he had refused the Crown of *Bohemia*, when it was offered, or upon acceptance, been more Cordially assisted by his fellow Princes, already wearied by the Emperours Oppressions, no less than terrified by an expectation of worse.

It was generally thought, and that not without good reason, That Prince *Henry* gave the first encouragement to the Prince Elector to attempt his Sister, desiring more to Head an Army in *Germany*, than he durst make shew of, and would no doubt have been bravely followed. That his thoughts flew high, hundreds of his Servants could witness, together with the Love he seemed to bear his Sister before his Brother *Charles*; whom he would often Taunt till he made him Weep, telling him, *He should be a Bishop, a Gown being fittest to bide his Legs*, subject in his Childhood to be

Crook

Crooked: Nor did all this put together, lengthen his Life in the desires of many. Besides, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* did mediate his Favour, by a Discourse he sent him, proving no War could be so necessary or advantageous for *England*, as one with *Spain*; alledging many Reasons and Examples, as well out of the Practice of Queen *Elizabeth*, as his own Experience; no Prince else then, being able to pay for, or bear the Expence of a Royal Navy, which once in a Year he would without question accomplish by our intercepting some or most of the *Plate-Fleet*, all Nations besides (at that time) being but Sea-Pedlars: Wherefore, if *Philip* the Second cut off his own hopeful and only Son *Charles*, for but pitying the People of *Flanders*; it can be no wonder, He should promote the destruction of a Stranger, that did so far applaud the advice of *Rawleigh*, as to say, *No King but his Father, would keep such a Bird in a Cage.*

But, to leave this to the Faith of Posterity, the Actions of Kings being written in such dark Characters, and relating to so many several ends, as they are not easily deciphered, I shall return to the *German* Affairs; towards which, had *England* contributed proportionably to the *Head of a Union*, it may be presumed (from the King of *Sweeden's* Success, who had at the beginning no such advantages to rely on) that the Eclipsing, if not the Ruine of the House of *Austria*, had not been adjourned to so long a day. And he that shall turn over the Adviso's of those Times, may (without danger, or much trouble) find what Opinion the *Germans* had of Us, and in how great a dismay it cast their Proceedings, when the smallness of the Lord *Vere's* Forces were known; but when they read a Commission (only enabling him to do nothing,) they apprehended themselves, some out of Malice Betrayed; others, that knew the temper

of

of King *James* better, were so Charitable, as to impute it to the true Cause, which was his *Fear*; upon whose Altar he was not only ready to Sacrifice his present Honour and future Safety, but the Blood of those he stiles, in all his *Manifesto's*, *His dearest Children*.

For after his Daughter, and the Elector, were Crowned King and Queen of *Bohemia*, they lost, together with this Shadow, all her Substance, and what he was, for so many Descents, Born to; the Palatinate at the Battle of *Prague*, (where few blows were dealt on the Electors side) reported to be so Mad, as to think the Souldier would venture his Life in a Cause, where he to whom it most concerned was afraid to venture his Money. It being then too late to spare, when Honour and Fortune lay at the Stake: By which this miserable Prince did not only lose what he might possibly have gained, but most of the Wealth he desired to save.

The Earl of *Portland*, Lord Treasurer, was sent by King *James* (when they looked for an Army) to Mediate a Peace: By whose help (though a *Roman Catholick*) the Elector and his Lady found means, though with much difficulty, to Escape to the *Hague* with their new assumed empty Titles, having nothing else to support them but Patience and Hope, the only and ordinary Comfort of those deprived of all help besides: yet it was generally reported by the *Roman Catholicks*, That *Portland* was too far engaged to their Party, to be the Author of so ungrateful a Service: But this being his first Employment, no less than a desire in the Pope to see the Power of the Emperour moderated, (who began to Incroach upon the pretended Immunities of the Church) he might probably take this advantage, to render his Embassy the more acceptable, upon his return, to the People of *England*, if not to the King: Persons of
their

their Quality falling seldom by the Sword; and therefore thought perhaps better Thrift, to maintain them at Liberty, than in Restraint, or Redeem them at such a Ransom as a Victorious Prince might Impose; to the Payment of which, his Majesty was engaged in Honour and Nature.

However, I am more charitable than to conclude all *Papists* imployed by this King, so dishonest as to falsifie their Trust; for if that followed as a necessary consequence, *God* help this poor Nation, that had before then, and long after, few Commissioned in any affair of Importance, but such as were that way affected, or wholly indifferent. It being the intent of Providence to use his help, it may be, as he did of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, to preserve this Vertuous Lady out of danger, whose Misfortunes kindled such a Fire in *Germany*, as (before it was extinguished) lick'd up the choicest Blood in the *Austrian* Family; some

one or other prosecuting the like Attempt, amongst whom was Count *Mansfield*, that had little else than his own Fortune and Valour to carry him so far as he went; but what he punctually did, or promised to do, was at too great a distance to be certainly known, more than could be Learned from the Eccho it made at Court, which sounded diversly, according to the Inclinations and hollowness of their Hearts that made the Reverberation. This is certain, That *Mansfield* was in appearance well received at Court; but how King *James* could like a Man that laboured to bring in so Anti-Monarchial a Precedent, as to struggle for Liberty with his Native Prince, I cannot but question, who himself daily inculcate into the People, through the Mediation of his Divines, and by the Terror of his Laws, *That no other Refuge was left in any saving Experiment, during the unjustest and most cruel Tyranny, but Prayers and Tears; a*
 Tenet,

Tenet, if he had believed himself, or thought such as owned either Prudence or Power did, he would doubtless have Governed much better, or (if possible) abused the Nation, and debauched his Succession much worse. Yet to give a countenance to a Business he had so shamefully disparaged before, he sent for the Count over in one of his Royal Ships, which was cast away upon the *English* Coast; an Example, almost as remote from a Precedent, as for a Mighty Prince to be a quiet Spectator of the Ruine of his Family.

Such as were of the *Spanish* Faction spoke most disgracefully of Count *Mansfield*, for getting the lower footing they assigned for his Rise, they admirably Proclaimed his dexterity in Mounting himself so High; who, at his going from hence, was furnished with Men and Money, the most of them lost before their Landing: Such Proceedings being much in use with.

with King *James*; who, like a ready Horse, did often seem to the World, as if he meant to run, yet did little more in effect than stand still.

And here we shall give a brief Account of the Poysoning business of Sir *T. Overbury*; on which account King *James* made so many dreadful Imprecations against himself and Posterity, on his Knees, and in the presence of his Judges, If he should spare any that were found Guilty in that affair; but how he failed, the ensuing Relation will inform.

Montgomery being in the Wain of his Favour, as given more to his own Pleasures, than to observe the King: Then was a young Gentleman Mr. *R. Carr*, one that was very handsome and well bred, who, by the Interest of the *Scots*, had a Grooms place of the Bed-Chamber; he did more than any other, associate himself with Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a Man of excellent parts, but those made him Proud and Insolent.

Now

Now was *Carr* Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and *Overburies* Pride rose with the others Honours; then was the strife between *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who should ingross this great Favourite *Pythias Overbury*, and make him their Monopoly; each presenting, proffering, and accumulating favours on *Overbury's* Kindred; the Father made a Judge in *Wales*, and himself offered an Office; but being naturally of an insolent Temper, which was elevated by being so intimate with a Favourite, and wholly having ingrossed that Commodity, which could not be retailed but by him and his Creatures, with a kind of Scorn, neglected their Friendships, yet made use of both.

Northampton finding himself neglected by so mean a fellow, (as he thought) cast about another way, and followed *Balaam's* Counsel, by sending a *Moabitish* Woman unto him, in which he made use of one *Coppinger*, a Gentle-

Gentleman, who had spent a fair Fortune left him by his Ancestors; and now, for Maintenance, was forced to lead the life of a Serving-man, (that formerly kept many to serve him,) and as an addition, the worst of that kind, a flat Bawd.

This Gentleman had lived a scandalous Life, by keeping a Whore of his own, therefore was fittest to trade in that commodity for another; and in truth, was fit to take any Impression, Baseness could stamp on him, as the sequel of this Story will manifest: This *Moabitish* Woman was a Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolks*, Married to a young Noble Gentleman, the Earl of *Essex*.

This Train took, and the first private meeting was at *Coppingers* House, and himself Bawd to their Lust, which put him into a far greater Bravery for a time, than when he was Master of his own; but it had bitterness on all hands in the end: This Privacy in
their

their stolen Pleasures, made *Coppinger* a Friend to *Northampton* and *Suffolk*, though but a Servant to Viscount *Rochester*, (for so was our new Favorite *Carr* made;) and now had they linked him so close, as no breaking from them.

Overbury was that *John Baptist* that reproved the Lord, for the Sin of using the Lady, and abusing the young Earl of *Essex*; he would call her Strumpet, her Mother and Brother Bawds; and used them with so much Scorn, as in truth was not to be endured by one of his Rank, to persons of that Quality; how faulty soever otherwise they were.

Then to satisfy *Overbury*, and blot out the name of Sin, his Love led him into a more desperate way, by a resolution to Marry another Mans Wife; against this then did *Overbury* Bellow louder, and in it shewed himself more like an affectionate, than a discreet and moderate Friend; had he compounded

ed one dram of Discretion, with an ounce of Affection, he might with such a Receipt have preserved his own Life, and their Fortunes and Honors.

For those that infinitely hated that Family, did as infinitely condemn his Insolent carriage and behaviour towards them; so that had any of those Brothers or Name killed *Overbury*, either by picking a Quarrel with him, or Pistolling him, or any other desperate way, or bravely in a Duel, upon some other ground of a Quarrel, than blemishing their Sister, the World would have justified the Action, however he had stood with God; but *Bachanan's* Character of that Family, barrs all expectation of so much bravery of Spirit; but a Council must be held to put him to Death by some Baser means.

The Plot then must be, he must be sent a Leidger Ambassador into *France*; which, by Obeying, they should be rid of so great an Eye-sore

by Disobeying, he incurred the displeasure of his Prince, a Contempt that he could not expect less than Imprisonment for, and by that Means be Sequestred from his Friends.

And thus far I do believe the Earl of *Somerset*, (for so was he now made) was consenting; this Stratagem took, and *Overbury* might truly say, (*Video meliora, deteriora sequar*,) for he indeed made the worst choice; it could not be thought, but such an Employment was far above his Desert, and much better for him to have accepted, than to be confined to a loathsome Prison; and for want of Judgment, had his Sufferings been less than loss of Life, he had not been worthy of Pity; but, *Jupiter quos vult perdere hos dementat*; he would go to the *Tower*, from whence he never returned, rather than accept of an honourable Employment; from whence he might not only have returned, but done his Friends acceptable Service, either in Private, or in Publick. In

In his mannaging of this Business, (that Wisdom which formerly he had been esteemed for) suffered under the censure of Wise Men, as well as Fools. Having him now fast in Prison, *Herodias* by pleasing her *Herod*, must also ask, and have his Life; for, *Per scelus ad scelera, tutior est via*; to that end, they preferred *Emposides*, to be Servant to Sir *Gervas Elwayes* then Lieutenant of the Tower: This Gentleman was ever held Wise and Honest, but Unfortunate, in having that place thrust upon him without his thought; he was also so Religious, that few in the Court did equal him; so Wise, as he obtained the Character of Wise Sir *Gervas Elwayes*; yet, neither could his Wisdom, nor the opinion of his Religion and Honesty, prevent that Fate, he was so ignorant of the Plot, as he never Dreamt of any such matter until one day (as it should seem) *Wolston* being told, *Elwayes* did know wherefore he was preferred unto him

to wait on *Overbury*; he asked the Lieutenant, whether he should now do it, *Elwayes* asked him what? *Weston* at that being somewhat abashed, which *Elwayes* quickly apprehended, replied, *No, not yet*; for he did believe there was something known to *Weston*; instantly he hasted away, (being a little before Dinner) and went into his Study, and sent for *Weston* to come unto him, examining him the meaning of that question; at last, between fair means and threatning, perswaded him to confess the Truth; then *Elwayes*, as he well could, laid before *Weston* the horridness of the Fact, the torments of Hell, and the uncertainty of his momentary enjoying of either Reward or Favour, after the Fact done, but that it must necessarily follow, so many Personages of Honour, would never Cabinet such a Secret in their Breast, that might ruin them; at last, made him so sensible of his Danger in this life, and more sensible of Torments

ments in the other, that *Weston* falling on his knees, said, *O Lord! how good and gracious art Thou, and thy Mercy is above all thy Works; for this day is Salvation come to my Soul, and I would not for all the World have had such a Sin upon me.* He gave the Lieutenant humble thanks, for that he had been Instrumental in saving his Soul, by putting him off from so foul Intentions: The Lieutenant having thus renewed Grace in him, by making him (as he thought) a new Man; said thus to him, *Tou and I have a dangerous part to Act; but if you will be true and honest to me, I doubt not (with Gods help) but we shall perform it well, both before God, and the World: Weston* faithfully promised him, and for a long, time as faithfully performed with him. The Lieutenant willed him, to bring all such things as was sent to give *Overbury* unto him, which he accordingly did; the Lieutenant ever gave them to Dogs and Cats, which he had always

ways ready in his Study for that purpose; some died presently, others lay lingering a longer time; all which, with the Jellies and Tarts sent to *Overbury*, he cast into his Privy, they staining the very Dishes.

This continued long, the Earl ever sending to visit *Overbury*, assuring him he did not forget his Release, which would not be long deferred; wherein most Men did verily believe, he did mean both Nobly and Truly, though others conjectured his meaning was a Dissolution: At last, the Countess sent for *Weston*, Reviling him, and calling him Treacherous Villain; for had he given those things sent, *Overbury* had not been now alive, vowing she would be revenged on him; upon the very fear whereof, he after gave those Poysons sent him, without acquainting the Lieutenant; yet, for all this schooling of *Weston*, and his assurance given of his future Fidelity to the Countess, she would not trust him any more, but

but put another Co-adjutor to him, one *Franklin*, a greater Villain than *Weston*; and truly they may be deemed very ill, that could seek out such Instruments.

These two Villains came into *Overbury's* Chamber, and found him in infinite Torment, with contention between Strength of Nature, and the working of the Poyson; and it being very like, Nature had got the better of it in that contention, by the thrusting out of Boyls, Botches, and Blains, they fearing it might come to light, upon the judgment of Physicians, that foul Play had been offered him, consented to stifle him with the Bed-cloaths, which accordingly was performed, and so ended his miserable Life with the assurance of the Conspirators, that he Died by Poyson; none thinking otherwise but these two Murtherers.

Now was all, as they believed, quiet, and in the depth of security,
and

and the Earl and Countess began to carry their Loves more openly and impudently; so that the World did talk very loudly and broadly of this Adulterous Meeting; it must from that ground proceed to an Adulterous Marriage; as well to the wronging of a Young Noble-man, as to the dishonour and shame of themselves; *But they must needs go, whom the Devil drives*; yet know not how handsomly to effect this, but by making the King's Party in this Bawdy business, which was no hard matter to effect; for the King's Eye began to wander after a new Favorite, being fatiated with the old; therefore, for the bringing this Bawdery to a Marriage, the Bishops must be principal Actors, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, an excellent Civilian, and a very great Scholar, must be the Principal; for which his Son was knighted, and did never lose that Title of *Sir Nullity Bilson*.

For by a Nullity of the first Marriage, must this second take place many Meetings of the Bishops, and the prime Civilians, in which there wanted no Bribes from the Lord and Lady, and their Friends, to have this Nullity brought to pass, wherein the Discourse would have better befitted the Mouths of Bawds and Ruffians than the Grave Divines; among them Bishop *Neal*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, Creature and Favorite of the House of *Suffolk*, took up a Learned Discourse in the Science of Bawdry, how many degrees in that Science must produce a Nullity; wherein were so many Beastly Expressions, as for Modesty sake I will not recite them, being offensive to my very Thoughts and Memory: *Aristotle's Problems* was a Modest Discourse to his; and he appeared to be better Studied in that, than Divinity; and to wind up this Learned Discourse, concluded, That and those met in this Lord and Lady.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,
Abbot, to his everlasting Fame, main-
 ly opposed all the Proceedings, and
 protested against them; for which
 he ever after lived in Disgrace, exclu-
 ded from the Council-Table, and Died
 in disrespect of the King on Earth, tho'
 in favour of the King of Kings.

Yet, forsooth, to make up the full
 measure of Bawdery, and to justifie
Neal's Discourse, That all things in
 the former Marriage conduced to be
 a Nullity; a search must be made, to
 find whether there had been a Pene-
 tration, and a Jury of Grave Matrons
 were found fit for that purpose; who,
 with their Spectacles ground to lessen,
 not to make the Letter larger, after
 their Inspection, gave Verdict, She
 was, *intacta Virgo*, which was
 thought very strange; for the World
 took notice that her way was very
 near beaten so plain, as if *Regia Via*;
 and, in truth, was a common way,
 before *Somerset* did ever Travel that
 D way;

way; besides, the World took notice, they Two had long lived together in Adultery; yet had Old *Kettle* a trick for that also. The Lady of *Essex*, for Modesty sake, makes humble Suit to the Bawdy Bishops, (who were also Plotters in this Stratagem) that she might not appear Bare-fac'd, for Blushing; but desired to come Vailed, with a Taffery over her Face; this, by all means, was thought so reasonable for a pretty Modest Lady, that the Bawdy Bishops and Pur-blind Ladies, which had forgotten Modesty themselves, could not think it worthy the denial: One Mrs. *Fines*, near Kinswoman to Old *Kettle*, was dressed up in the Countesses Cloaths, and that time too Young to be other than *Virgo intacta*; though, in Two Years after, had the Old Ladies made their Inspection, the Orifice would not have appeared so small, to have delivered such a Verdict as they did, and a just one upon their Views; tho

upon

upon some of their Knowledges, it was not that Lady they were to give Verdict upon.

Now is the Nullity pronounced, and the Marriage with *Somerset* speedily Solemnized; for which they, and the whole Family of *Suffolk*, paid dear in after time, and had sowre Sauce to that sweet Meat, of their great Son-in-Law.

And surely, he was the most unfortunate in that Marriage; being as generally Beloved, as for himself and Disposition, as Hated afterwards for his linking himself in that Family; For in all the time of this Man's Favour, before this Marriage, he did nothing obnoxious to the State, or any base thing for his private gain; but whether this was his own Nature that curbed him, or that there was then a Brave Prince living, and a Noble Queen that did awe him, we cannot so easily judge; because, after this Marriage, and their Death, he did many ill things.

Now began to appear a glimmering of a new Favorite, one Mr. *George Villers*, a younger Son, by a second Venter, of an Ancient Knight in *Leicester-shire*; his Father of an Ancient Family; his Mother of a Mean, and a Waiting-Gentlewoman; whom the Old-Man fell in Love with, and Married; by whom he had Three Sons all raised to the Nobility, by means of their Brother Favorite. This Gentleman was come but newly from Travel, and did believe it a great Fortune to Marry a Daughter of Sir *Roger Aston's*; and, in truth, 'twas the height of his Ambition; and for that only end was a hanger upon the Court. The Gentlewoman loved him so well as could all his Friends have made her great Fortune but an hundred Markes Joynter, she had Married him presently, in despite of all of them.

But before the closing up of this Match, the King cast a glancing Eye

towards him ; which was easily ob-
 served, by such as minded their Prin-
 ces Humor, and then the Match was
 laid aside ; some assuring him a great-
 er Fortune was coming unto him :
 Then one gave him his place of Cup-
 bearer, that he might be in the King's
 Eye ; another sent to his Mercer and
 Taylor, to put good Cloaths on him ;
 a third to his Sempster, for curious
 Linnen ; and all as In-comes, to obtain
 Offices on his future rise : Then o-
 thers took upon them to be his *Bra-*
vo's, to undertake his Quarrels, upon
 Affronts put upon him by *Somerset's*
 Faction ; so all hands helped to the
 piecing up this new Favorite.

Then began the King to Eat abroad,
 who formerly used to Eat in his Bed-
 Chamber ; or, if by chance, Supped
 in his Bed - Chamber, would come
 forth to see Pastimes and Fooleries ;
 in which *Sir Edward South*, *Sir George*
Goring, and *Sir J. Finet*, were the
 chief, and Master Fools : and surely,

this Fooling got them more than any others Wisdom, far above them in Desert: *Souch's* part was to Sing Bawdy Songs, and to tell Bawdy Tales: *Finet* to compose these Songs: There were a Sett of Fiddlers, brought up on purpose for this Fooling: And *Goring* was Master of the Game for Fooleries, sometimes presenting *David Droman*, and *Archee Armstrong* the King's Fool on the back of the other Fools, to Tilt at one another, till they fell together by the Ears; sometimes Antick Dances; but Sir *John Millisent*, who was never known before, was commended for a notable Fool; With this Jollity was this new Favorite ushered in. This made the House of *Suffolk* fret; and *Somerſet* carried himself more proudly; and his *Bravado's* ever quarrelling with the others, which, by his Office of *Lord-Chamberlain*, for a while carried it; but *Somerſet* using of Sir *Ralph Wynwood* (whom himself brought in for Secretary

cretary of State) in so scornful a manner (he having only the Title, the Earl himself keeping the Seals, and doing the Business) made *Wynwood* endeavor to ruine him; who soon got an opportunity, by frequenting the Countess of *Shrewsburies*, then Prisoner in the *Tower*; who told *Wynwood*, on a time, That *Overbury* was Poysoned, which she understood from Sir *Gervase Elwayes*; who did labour, by her means, to deal with her Two Sons-in-Law, *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, (*Wynwood* being also great with that Faction) that when it came into question, he might save his own Stake; who, truly, was no otherwise Guilty, but that he did not discover it at *Weston's* first disclosing it (he being Keeper of the Prison) so by Inference, his not disclosing it, was *Overbury's* Death; and had he revealed it then, he certainly had been brought into the *Star-Chamber* for it, and undone (for it was not the Time fit for discovery)

covery.) *Winwood*, it was thought, acquainted the King with it, knowing how willingly he would have been rid of *Somerſet*; yet the King durſt not bring it in queſtion; nor any Doubt ever would have been, had not *Somerſet* ſought to croſs him in his Paſſion of Love, to his new Favorite; in which the King was more impatient, than any Woman to enjoy her Love.

Not long after, *Thrumbal*, Agent at *Bruxels*, had (by an Apothecaries Boy, one *Reeve*, after an Apothecary himſelf, in *London*, who lived ſometime after) gotten hold of this Poyſoning buſineſs; for *Reeve* having, under his Maſter, made ſome of theſe deſperate Medicines, either run away, or elſe his Maſter ſent him out of the way, and fell in Company with *Thrumbal*'s Servants at *Bruxels*, to whom he revealed it; and they to their Maſter, who Examining the Boy, diſcover'd the Truth: *Thrumbal* preſently wrote

to

to Secretary *Wynwood*, he had business of consequence to discover, but would not send it; therefore desired License to come over. The King would not yield to his Return, but willed him to send an Express: That *Thrumbal* utterly refused, and very wisely, for letting any thing appear under his Hand, lest the Boy should Die, or run away, and then himself made the Author of that, which the Courtesie of another must have justified.

The King being of a longing Disposition, rather than he would not know, admitted *Thrumbal's* Return; and now had they good Testimony, by the Apothecary, who revealed *Weston*, Mrs. *Turner*, and *Franklin*, to be the principal Agents; yet this (being now the time of Progress) was not stirred till about *Michaelmas*: But still *Wynwood* now carry himself in a kind of braving way of Contestation against *Somerset*, struck in with the Faction of *Villers's*: And now

on Progress, the King went *Westward*; where, at the several places as he came, he was highly Treated.

After all his Feasting, homewards came the King, who desired, by all means, to reconcile this Clashing between his declining and rising Favorite; to which end, at *Lulworth*, the King imployed Sir *Humphry May*, a great Servant to *Somerſet*, and a wise Servant to *Villers*; but with such Instructions, as if it came from himself; and *Villers* had order, presently after Sir *Humphry May*'s return, to present himself and Service to *Somerſet*.

My Lord, said he, Sir *George Villers* will come to you, to offer his Service, and desire to be your Creature; and therefore refuse him not, Embrace him, and your Lordship shall still stand a great Man; tho' not the sole Favorite. My Lord seemed averſe: Sir *Humphry* then told him, in plain terms, That he was sent by the King to advise it; and that *Villers* would come to him, to
cast

cast himself into his Protection; to take his Rise, under the shadow of his Wings. Sir Humphry May was not parted from my Lord half an hour, but in comes Sir George Villers, and used these very words: *My Lord, I desire to be your Servant, and your Creature; and shall desire to take my Court-Preferment under your Favour; and your Lordship shall find me as faithful a Servant unto you, as ever did serve you.* My Lord returned this quick and short Answer; *I will none of your Service, nor you shall none of my Favour; I will, if I can, break your Neck, and of that be confident.* This was but a harsh Complement, and favoured more of Spirit, than Wisdom; and since that time, breaking each others Necks was their aims: And it is verily believed, had Scmerfet complied with Villers, Overbury's Death had still lain reaked up in his own Ashes; but God, who will never suffer Murther to go unpunished, will have

have what He will, maugre all the
Wisdom of the World.

To *Windsor* doth the King return,
to end his Progress; from thence to
Hampton-Court, then to *White-Hall*,
and shortly after to *Royston*, to begin
his Winter-Journey. And now be-
gins the Game to be plaid, in which
Somerset must be the Loser, the
Cards being shuffled, cut and dealt,
between the King and Sir *Edward
Coke* Chief Justice, (whose Daugh-
ter *Purbeck Villers* had Married, and
therefore a fit Instrument to ruine
Somerset) and Secretary *Wynwood*.
These all play'd the Stake, *Somerset's*
Life and his Ladie's, their Fortunes,
and the Family of *Suffolk*; some of
them played Booty; and in truth, the
Game was not played above-board.
The Day the King went from *White-
Hall* to *Theobalds*, and so to *Royston*,
He sent for all the Judges, (his
Lords and Servants encircling him;)
where kneeling down in the midst,
he

he used these Words:

My Lords, the Judges, It is lately come to my bearing, that you have now in examination a business of Poysoning; Lord! in what a most miserable Condition shall this Kingdom be, (the only famous Nation for Hospitality in the World,) if our Tables should become such a Snare, as none could eat without danger of Life, and the Italian Custom should be introduced among us: Therefore, my Lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at the great and dreadful Day of Judgment, that you examine it strictly, without Favour, Affection, or Partiality; and if you shall spare any guilty of this Crime, God's Curse light on you and your Posterity: And if I spare any that are found guilty, God's Curse light on Me, and my Posterity for ever.

But how this dreadful Thunder-Curse or Imprecation was performed, shall be shewed hereafter.

The King with this took his Farewel for a time of London, and was accompanied

accompanied with *Somerſet* to *Rowſton*
 (where no ſooner he brought him)
 but inſtantly took leave, little imagi-
 ning what *Viper* lay amongſt the
Herbs; Nor muſt I forget to let you
 know, how perfect the King was in
 the Art of Diſſimulation, or to give it
 his own Phraſe, King-Craft. The
 Earl of *Somerſet* never parted from
 him with more ſeeming Affection
 than at this time, when he knew *Somerſet*
 ſhould never ſee him more.
 The Earl when he kiſſed his Hand,
 the King hang'd about his Neck, ſlab-
 bering his Cheeks; ſaying, *When ſhall*
I ſee you again? On my Soul, I ſhall
neither eat nor ſleep until you come
again. The Earl told him on *Monday*,
 (this being on the *Friday*;) For
 God's-ſake let me, ſaid the King, *ſhall I*
ſhall I? Then lolled about his Neck;
 Then for God's-ſake, give thy Lady
 this Kiſs for me: In the ſame manner,
 at the Stairs-head, at the middle of the
 Stairs, and at the Stairs-foot; the
 Earl

Earl was scarcely in his Coach, when
 the King used these very words (in
 the hearing of four Servants, of whom
 one was *Somerſet's* great Creature, and
 of the Bed-Chamber, who reported it
 afterwards to many about the Court,) *I ſhall never ſee his Face more.* I ap-
 peal to the Reader, whether this *Mot-*
to, of *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regi-*
nare, was not as well performed in
 this Paſſage, as his *Beati Paſciſci*, in
 the whole courſe of his Life; and
 his Love to the latter, made him be
 beaten with his own Weapon in the
 other; by all Princes and States that
 had to do with him. But before *So-*
merſet's Approach to *London*, his
 Counteſs was apprehended; at his Ar-
 rival, himſelf: And the King being that
 Night at Supper, ſaid to Sir *Thomas*
Morſon, My Lord Chief Juſtice hath
 ſent for you: He asked the King,
 when he ſhould wait on him again;
 who replied, You may come when
 you can. And (as in the Story of
Byron

Byron, and many others,) there have been many foolish Observations, as presage, so was there in this Gentleman, who was the King's Master-Faulconer; and in truth, for his extraordinary Dexterity and Skill, no Prince in *Christendom* ever had the like.

So, that you see, the Plot was so well laid, as they could be all within the Toil at one instant, not knowing of each other.

Now are in Hold the Earl, his Countess, Sir *Thomas Monson*, Mistress *Turner*, (a very lewd and infamous Woman of life) *Weston* and *Franklin*, with some others of less Note; of which one *Simon* a Servant of Sir *Thomas Monson's*, who was employed in carrying Jelly and Tart to the *Tower*; who upon his Examination, for his pleasant Answer, was instantly dismissed. My Lord told him, *Simon*, you have had a hand in this Poysoning Business: No, my good Lord, I had but one Finger in it, which almost

most cost me my Life ; and, at the best,
 cost me all my Hair and Nails ; for
 the truth was, *Simon* was somewhat
 liquorish, and finding the Syrrup
 swim from the top of a Tart as he
 carried it, he did with his Finger skim
 it off ; and it was to be believed, had
 he known what it had been, he
 would not have been his Taster at
 so dear a Rate. And now poor Mrs.
Turner, Weston and *Franklin*, began the
 Tragedy ; Mrs. *Turner's* Day of
 Mourning being better than the Day
 of her Birth ; for she died very peni-
 tently, and shewed much modesty in
 her last Act, which is to be hoped,
 was accepted of with God ; after
 that died *Weston*, then was *Franklin*
 Arraigned, who confessed that *Over-*
bury was smothered to Death, not
 poysoned to Death, though he had
 Poyson given him.

In the next place came the Coun-
 tesse to her Tryal, at whose Arraign-
 ment, as also at Mrs. *Turner's* before,
 were

were shewed many Pictures, Poppets with some Exorcism and Magic Spells, which made them appear more odious, as being known to converse with Witches and Wizards.

The next that came on the Stage was Sir *Thomas Monson*; but the Night before he was to come to his Tryal, the King being at the Game of Maw, said, *To Morrow comes Tom Monson to his Tryal*: Yea, said the King's Card-holder, where, if he do not play his Masters Prize, your Majesty shall never trust me: This so run in the King's Mind, as the next Game, he said, He was sleepy, and would play out that Set the next Night; the Gentlemen departed to his Lodging, but was no sooner gone, but the King sent for him; what Communication they had was not known; but is most certain, next under God, that Gentleman saved his Life; for the King sent a Post presently to *London*, to let the

Lord

Lord Chief-Justice know, he would see *Monson's* Examination and Confession, to see if it were worthy to touch his Life, for so small a matter: *Monson* was too wise to set any thing but fair in his Confession; what he would have stabbed with, should have been (*viva voce*) at his Arraignment. The King sent word, He saw nothing worthy of Death, or of Bonds, in his Accusation or Examination: And now for the last Act, enters *Somerſet* himself on the Stage, who (being told, as the manner is, by the Lieutenant, That he must provide to go the next Day to his Tryal,) did absolutely refuse it, and said, 'They should carry him in his Bed; that the King had assured him, he should not come to any Tryal, neither durst the King bring him to any Tryal: This was in an high Strain, and in a Language not well understood by *George Moore* (Lieutenant in *Elwayes's* room;) that made
Moore

Moor quiver and shake ; and however, he was accounted a Wise Man, yet he was near at his Wits-end.

Yet away goes *Moor* to *Greenwich*, as late as it was, (being Twelve at Night) bounceth at the Back-stairs, as if Mad ; to whom came *J. Loveston*, one of the Grooms, out of his Bed, enquires the reason of that Disturbance at so late a Season ; *Moor* tells him, *He must speak with the King ; Loveston* replies, *He is quiet* (which, in the *Scotish* Dialect, is, *Fast asleep*,) *Moor* says, *You must awake him* : *Moor* being called in, (the Chamber left to the King and *Moor*) he tells the King those Passages, and desires to be directed by the King, for he was gone beyond his own reason, to here such bold and undutiful Expressions from a faulty subject against his Sovereign. The King falls into a Passion of Tears ; *On my Soul, Moor, I wot not what to do ; thou art a Wise-Man, help me in this great streight, and thou shalt*

shalt find, thou dost it for a thankful Master, with other sad Expressions. Moor leaves the King in that Passion; but assures him, he will try the utmost of his Wit to serve his Majesty; and was really rewarded with 1500 l.

Sir George Moor returns to Somerset, about Three the next Morning, of that day he was to come to his Tryal, enters Somerset's Chamber, tells him, He had been with the King, found him a most affectionate Master unto him, and full of Grace in his intentions towards him; but (said he) to satisfie Justice, you must Appear, although return instantly again, without any further proceeding; only you shall know your Enemies, and their Malice; though they shall have no Power over you. With this trick of Wit, he allayed his Fury, and got him quietly, about Eight in the Morning, to the Hall; yet feared his former bold Language might revert again; and being brought by this Trick into the Toyl, might have more

more enraged him to fly out into some strange Discovery; he had Two Servants placed on each side of him, with a Cloak on their Arms, giving them a peremptory Order, if that *Somerſet* did any way fly out on the King, they ſhould inſtantly Hood-wink him with that Cloak, and take him violently from the Bar, and carry him away; for which he would ſecure them from any danger; and they ſhould not want alſo a bountiful Reward: But the Earl finding himſelf over-reached, recollected a better Temper, and went on calmly in his Tryal; where he held the Company until Seven at Night: But whoever had ſeen the King's reſtleſs motion, all that Day, ſending to every Boat he ſee Landing at the Bridge, Curſing all that came without Tydings, would have eaſily judged all was not right, and there had been ſome grounds for his Fears of *Somerſet's* Boldneſs: But, at laſt, one brings him

him word, he was Condemned, and the Passages all was quiet. This is the very Relation, from *Moor's* own Mouth, told to several of undoubted Credit.

And there were other strong inducements to believe *Somerſet* knew, that (by him) he deſired none other ſhould be partaker of; and that all was not Peace with him in the Peace-maker himſelf; for he ever Courted *Somerſet* to his Dying-day; and gave him 4000*l.* *per annum*, for Fee Farm-Rents, after he was Condemned; which he took in his Servants Names, not his own (as then being Condemned, not capable of) and he then reſolved never to have Pardon. It is credibly reported, he was told by a *Wizzard*, That could he but come to ſee the King's Face again, he ſhould be re-inveſted in his former dearneſs: This had been no hard Experiment; but, belike, he had too much Religion to truſt to *Wizzards*; or elſe ſome Friends

Friends of his had trusted them, and been deceived by them, that he had little reason to put confidence in them. The King kept correspondence Weekly with him, by Letters, to his Dying-Day.

And here we have brought this great Man to his End, with his Countess, *Mrs. Turner, Weston, Franklin* and *Elways* Died in the *Tower*; and here Died this great Business: *Weston* ever saying, *It never troubled him to Die with so many Blue-Ribbons*: And some, in those times, verily thought more would have Suffered, had it not been for an unhappy Expression of *Sir Edward Cook*, the Lord Chief Justice; who, in a Vain-glorious Speech to shew his vigilancy, enters into a Rapture, as he sat on the Bench, saying, *God knows what became of that sweet Babe, Prince Henry*; but I know somewhat: and surely, in searching the Cabinets, he lighted on some Papers, that spoke plain, in that which

was ever Whispered; which, had he gone on in a gentle way, would have ta'n in of themselves, not to have been prevented; but this folly of his Tongue stopt the Breath of the discovery of that so foul a *Murther*; which, I fear, cries still for Vengeance.

And now begins the new Favorite to Reign, without any controulment; now he rises in Honour, as well as swells with Pride, being broken out of the modest bounds (formerly had impaired him) to the High-way of Pride and Scorn; turning-out, and putting-in all he pleased: *First*, He gets the Lord-Admiral turned out, and himself made Lord High-Admiral: Next, He procured the Seal to be taken from *Egerton*, Lord-Keeper, and procures the Place for *Bacon*, *gratis*; for he neither paid any thing, neither was he able: For now was there a new Trick to put in Dishonest and Necessitous Men, to serve such Turns, as Men of plentiful Fortunes,

E

and

and fair Reputations would not accept of: And this filled the Church and Common-wealth full of beggarly Fellows, (such daring to venture on any thing, having nothing to lose for it is Riches makes Men Cowards Poverty, Daring and Valiant, to adventure at any thing, to get something;) yet did not *Buckingham* do things wholly for nothing; but what their Burses could not stretch unto they paid in Pensions out of their Place; all which went to maintain his numerous Beggarly Kindred. *Bacon*, paid a Pension; *Heath*, Attorney, paid a Pension; *Bargrave*, Dean, paid a Pension; with multitudes of others: *Fotherby*, made Bishop of *Salisbury*, paid down 3500 *l.* for his Bishoprick. There were Books of Rates, on all Offices, Bishopricks, Deaneries, in *England*, that could tell you what Fines, what Pensions; otherwise had it been impossible, such a numerous Kindred could have been maintained.

maintained (as *Buckingham's* was) with Three Kingdoms Revenue.

And now *Buckingham* having the Chancellor, Treasurer, and all great Officers, his very Slaves, swells in the height of Pride, summons up all his Country Kindred; the Old Countess providing a place for them, to learn to carry themselves in a Court-like Garb.

Then must these Women-Kindred be Married to Earls, Earls Eldest Sons, Barons, or chief Gentlemen of greatest Estates; insomuch that the very Female Kindred were so numerous, as sufficient to have Peopled any Plantation: Nay, very Kitchin-Wenches were Married to Knights Eldest Sons.

Then was there a Parliament Summoned; in which, *Bacon*, for his Injustice, was thrust out; being closely Prosecuted by one *Morby*, a Woodmonger, and one *Wreham*; and was, by the said Parliament, justly put out of his Place.

In *Bacon's* place comes *Williams*, a man on purpose brought in at first to serve turns; but in this place to do that, which none of the *Laiety* could be found bad enough to undertake. This *Williams*, though he wanted much of his Predecessors Abilities for the Law, yet he equall'd him for Learning and Pride, and beyond him in the way of Bribery: This man answering by Petitions, a new way, in which his Servants had one Part, himself another; and so was calculated to be worth to Himself and Servants, Three thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

And now being come to the height of his Preferment, he did estrange himself from the Company of the old Countess, having much younger Ware, who had Keys to his Chamber to come to him; yet was there a Necessity of keeping him in this Place for a time, the *Spanish Match* being yet in Chase; and, if it succeeded,

ceeded, this Man was to clap the Great Seal, (through his Ignorance in the Laws) to such Things, that none that understood the Danger by knowing the Laws, would venture upon ; and for this Design he was at first brought in ; (no Prince living knowing how to make use of Men better than King James.)

The *Spanish Match* having been long in Treaty, and it being suspected now, that the *Spaniard* did juggle with the State in this, as they formerly did in a Match with that brave Prince *Henry* ; and in truth, in all other Things, wherein any Negotiation had been, only feeding the King with fair Hopes, and fair Words, yet foul Deeds. Whether the King suspected any such Matters, or any Whimsie came in the Brain of the great Favourite and Prince, to imitate the old Stories of the *Knights-Errand* ; but agreed it was, (it should seem) between the Favourite

and the Prince only, (no one other
 so much as dreaming of any such Ad-
 venture) except *Cottington*, which
 also accompanied them, that the
 Prince must go himself into *Spain*.
 Away they went under the borrowed
 Names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*, to
 the amazement of all wise Men, only
 accompanied with Three more Per-
 sons, taking their way by *France*,
 had the Ports laid so, that none
 should follow them, or give any No-
 tice to the *French-Court*, till they
 might get the start, &c. Yet their
 Wisdoms made them adventure to
 stay in the *French-Court*, and look on
 that Lady whom he after Married.
 And there did this *Mars* imitate one
 of Prince *Arthur's* Knights, in seeking
 Adventures in foreign Princes Terri-
 tories. First beheld this *French Beauty*,
Mars visemque cupit, patiturque cupit,
 as in our Discourse will afterward
 appear: From thence away to *Spain*,
 but as the Journey was only plotted

by young Heads; it was so childishly carried, that they escaped the *French-King's Curriers* very narrowly; but escape they did, and arrived safely in *Spain*, their wished Port, before either welcome or expected by our Ambassadors, or that State.

Yet now must the best Face be put on, at all hands; that put their Grandees to new Shifts, and our Ambassador, the Earl of *Bristol*, to try his Wit: For at that time Sir *W. Aston* was also Ambassador at *Spain*, in all Occurrences. *Aston* complied with the Prince and Duke; *Bristol* ran counter; and the Duke and *Bristol* hated each other mortally.

Bristol had the advantage of them there, as having the much better Head-piece, and being more conversant and dear to that State, wholly complying with them; and surely had done them very acceptable Services, (and in this very Treaty, was of the Pack;) *Buckingham* had the

advantage of him in *England*, (for, although the King did not hate *Buckingham*, yet was so awed, that he durst not discover it.) Then *Buckingham* had all Interest in his Successor by this Journey, so that he layd a present and future Foundation for his succeeding Greatness.

For all his Power and Greatness, *Bristol* did not forbear to put all Scorns, Affronts, and Tricks on him; and *Buckingham* lay so open, as gave the other advantage enough by his Lascivious Carriage and Miscarriage. Amongst all his Tricks, he play'd One so cunningly, that it cost him all the Hair on his Head, and put him to the Dyet; for it should seem, he made court to *Conde Olivares's* Lady, who was very handsom: But it was so plotted betwixt the Lady, her Husband, and *Bristol*, that instead of that Beauty, he had a Notorious Stew sent to him; and surely, his Carriage there was so Lascivious, that had
ever

ever the Match been really intended for our Prince ; yet such a Companion or Guardian, was, enough to have made them believe, that he was that way inclined ; and so have frustrated the Marriage, that being a grave and sober Nation : *Bucking.* being of a light and loose Behaviour ; and had not the Prince himself been of an extraordinary staid Temper, the other had been a very ill Guardian unto him.

But now many Lords flock over, and many Servants, that he might appear the Prince of Great *Britain*, and like himself, though he came thither like a private Person : Many Treaties were ; sometimes Hope, sometimes Fear ; sometimes great Assurance ; then all dash'd again ; and however, his Entertainment was as great as possible that State could afford ; yet was his Addreses to, and with the Lady such, as rendred him mean and a private Person, rather than a Prince of that State, that formerly

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had made *Spain* feel the Weight of their Anger and Power, and was like a Servant, not a Suitor; for he never was admitted but to stand bare-head in her Presence, nor to talk with her, but in a full Audience, with much Company.

At last, after many Heats and Cools, many Hopes and Despairs, the Prince wrote a Letter to his Father of a desperate Despair, not only of not enjoying his Lady, but of never more returning; with this Passage; *You must now, Sir, look upon my Sister and her Children, forgetting ever you had such a Son, and never thinking more of Me.*

Now the Folly of this Voyage, plotted only by green Heads, began to appear, many shewing much Sorrow, many smiling at their Follies, (and, in truth, glad in their Hearts;) and however the King was a cunning Dissembler, and shewed much outward Sorrow, as he did for Prince *Henry's* Death; yet something was discerned,

discerned, which made his Court believe little Grief came near his Heart; for that Hatred he bore to *Buckingham* long, (as being Satiated with him) and his Adoring the Rising-Sun, not looking after the Sun-Setting, made the World believe, he would think it no ill Bargain, to lose his Son, so *Buckingham* might be lost also.

The Reason the King so hated *Buckingham*, was, (besides his being weary of Him, and his Marriage, after which the King's Edge was ever taken off from all Favourites; yet this had so much the over-awing Power of Him, that He durst not make Shew to affect any other :) There was one *Inniossa*, a *Spanish Ambassador* extraordinary, being an old Souldier, and a Gallant Fellow, thought that *Buckingham* did not give that Respect to Him, which was due to his own Person, or to the Person of so Great a King, whose Person He represented.

This *Inniossa* being a daring Gentleman,

tleman, used some Speeches in Derogation of the Prince and *Buckingham*, as if they were dangerous to the old King: Nay, *Inniosa* sent one *Padro Mecestria*, (a Spanish Jesuit, and a great States-man) to King *James*, to let Him know, that He, under Confession, had found the King was by *Buckingham*, or by his Procurement, to be Killed; but whether by Poyson, Pistol, Dagger, &c. he could not tell.

The King, after the Hearing of this, was extreamly Melancholly; and in that Passion was found by *Buckingham*, at his return to Him: The King, as soon as ever He espyed him, said, *Ah, Stenny, Stenny* (for so He ever called him in familiarity.) *Wilt Thou kill Me?* At which, *Buckingham* started, and said; *Who, Sir, hath so abused You?* At which the King sate Silent; Out went *Buckingham*, Fretting and Fuming; asked, *Who had been with the King in his Absence?* It was told him,

him, *Padro Mecestria*: Then *Buckingham* went immediately and questioned *Padro Mecestria*; Which Quarrel *Inni:ssa* undertook, and told him, *He would maintain him a Traytor; and, wear his Master's Person off him, He was a Chivalier, and better Born than Himself, and would make it Good on Him with his Sword.*

Buckingham being fully Satisfied on several Accounts, of the great Hatred the King now bare unto him, He turned as great an Hater of the King; and though the King had more Power to Revenge, He had less Courage; and *Buckingham* less Power, and more Courage, sharpened with Revenge: And however the World did believe the King's Inclination was out of a Religious Ground that He might not Revenge; yet it was no other but a Cowardly Disposition, that durst not adventure. But although the King lost his Opportunity on *Buckingham*; yet the Black Plaister and Powder did shew,

shew, *Buckingham* lost not his on the King; and that it was no Fiction, but a Reality, that *Padro Mecestria* had formerly told the King.

And now to return from this Digression, (which is not impertinent, besides a great Secret;) The Prince returns from *Spain*, contrary to Expectation, in which the Wisdom and Gravity of the *Spaniard* failed him; especially if they did believe *Padro Mecestria*, (besides, Nature could not long Support the old King;) and then the *Spaniard* might have made no little Advantage, by enjoying such a Pledge.

Now is all the Fault (of the Match not succeeding) laid on *Digby's* False Play, and Unfaithfulness to his Master, and Combining with the *Spaniard* for his own Ends: And *Buckingham*, the most Hated Man then living, from an Accused Man in the former *Parliament*, came to be the very Darling of this *Parliament*.

In

In the *Banquetting-House*, before both *Houses of Parliament*, does *Buckingham* give an Account at large of his *Spanish-Voyage*; and to every full Point, (as a further Attestation) he saith, *How say You, Sir?* To which the Prince answered, *I, Tea, or Yes*; and thorough all his Discourse, laboured to make *Bristol* as hateful to this *Parliament*, as Himself had been to the Former: *Bristol* having some Friends that sent him Advice of All into *Spain*, He immediately Posts for *England*, makes *Buckingham's* Relation and Accusation wholly Scandalous and False, and becomes a great Favourite to *King James*.

In this Place, I hold it not unfit to shew the Reader, how the *King* hath ever been Abused, and would be abused, by over-much Credulity in the *Treaty of Spain* for *Marriages*, as well as in all other *Negotiations*.

You shall now perceive, how the *King* was Abused in this *Treaty*; which
was

was an Error inexcusable in Himself, and whole Council. The *Italians* having a Proverb, *He that Deceives me Once, it is his Fault; but if Twice, it is my Fault*: This second time could not but be the only Fault of the King and Council.

In Prince *Henry's* Life-time, the King had a little Man, but a very great and wise Councillor, little *Salisbury*, his Secretary of State, that great Statesman, who did Inherit all his Fathers Wisdom, as well as his Offices.

There was a Treaty, in the like case, for Prince *Henry*; *Salisbury* instantly discovered the Jugling, before any other did think of any; for although it went forward cunningly, yet did *Salisbury* so put the Duke of *Lerma* unto it, that either it must be, or they must confess their Jugling.

The Duke of *Lerma* denied, that ever there had been any Treaty, or any Intention from that State: *Salisbury* sent for the Ambassador to a full Coun-

Council, and told him, *How he had abused the King and State, about a Treaty for Marriage, which he had no Commission for; that therefore he was liable to the Laws of our Kingdom: For when any Servant doth abuse a State by their Master's Commission, then that Servant was freed; but, without Commission, was culpable, and liable to be Punished, by the Laws of that State; as being disavowed to be Servant to the King his Master.* The Ambassador answered gravely, He did not understand the cause of his coming; therefore was then unprepared to give any Answer; but, on Monday, he would again come, and give his Answer. On Monday he comes, begins with these words; *My Soul, is my God's; my Life, my Master's; my Reputation, my Own: I will not forfeit my First and Last, to preserve the Second:* Then lays down his Commission, and Letters of Instruction, under the Duke of Lerma's own Hand. He acquitted himself Honestly in this State,

State, yet lost his own; being instantly sent for Home, where he lived and dyed in Disgrace; here was, *Legatus vir bonus peregre missus sed non ad mentiendum reipublicæ causa.*

By this you see the advantage and benefit of one Wise Counsellor in a whole State; and although Solomon says, *By the multitude of Councillors, doth a Kingdom Flourish*; yet, surely, he intended they should be Wise Men, that are Councillors: for we had such a multitude of Councillors, that a longer Table, and a larger Council-Chamber was provided; yet our State was so far from Flourishing, that it had been almost utterly destroyed.

I shall now bring my Story to an end, as I shall this King's Life; although I have made some Digressions, yet all pertinent to the *Secret Intrigues* of this King's Reign.

He now goes to his last Hunting-Journey, (I mean, the last of the Year)

as well as his Life) which He ever ended in *Lent*; and was seized on by an extraordinary *Tertian Ague*; which, at that Season, according to the Proverb, was *Physick for a King*; but King *James* did not find it so; and, poor King, what was but *Physick* to any other, was made *Mortal* to him: Yet 'twas not the *Ague*, as himself Confessed to many of his Servants; one of which crying, *Courage, Sir, this is but a small Fit, the next will be none at all*: At which he most earnestly looked, and said, *Ah! it is not the Ague afflicteth me; but the black Plaster and Powder given me, and laid to my Stomach*: and, in truth, the Plaster so troubled him, that he was glad to have it pulled off, and, with it, the Skin also: Nor was it fair Dealing, if he had fair Play, (which himself suspected, often saying to *Montgomery*, whom he trusted, above all Men, in his Sickness, *For God's sake, look I have fair Play*) to bring in an *Emperick*,

perick, to apply any Medicines, whilst those Physicians, appointed to attend him, were at Dinner; nor could any but *Buckingham* Answer it, with less than his Life. *Buckingham* coming into the King's Chamber, even when He was at the point of Death, an honest Servant of the King's, crying, *Ah! my Lord, you have Undone us, all his poor Servants; although you are so well provided, you need not care: At which Buckingham kickt at him, who caught his Foot, and made his Head first come to the Ground; where Buckingham presently rising, run to the Dying-King's Bed-side, and cryed, Justice, Sir, I am abused by your Servant, and wrongfully Accused: At which the poor King Mournfully fixed his Eyes on him; as who would have said, Not wrongfully; yet without Speech or Sense.*

It were worth the knowledge, what his Confessions was, or what other

Ex-

Expressions he made of himself, or any other; but that was only known to the dead Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, and the then living Bishop *Williams*, and the Lord-Keeper; and, it was thought, *Williams* had blabbed something, which incensed the King's Anger, and *Buckingham's* Hatred, so much against him, that the loss of his Place could not be expiatory sufficient, but his utter ruine must be determined, and that for the great Crime of *Lapsus Linguae*.

Now having brought this King (who was stiled the *King of Peace*) to rest in all Peace; the 27th of *March*, his Son, by Sound of the Trumpet, was Proclaimed King, by the Name of *CHARLES the First*.

His Father's Reign began with a great Plague, and we have shewed what his Reign was: His Son's, with a great-

a greater Plague, (the greatest that ever had been in these parts) : We come now to shew what his Reign was, in the ensuing Discourse.

Which incident the King's Angel, and Blackwell's Herald, to much amazement, that the loss of his Place could not be expiatory innocent, but his utter ruin must be determined, and that for the great Crime of Treason.

F I N I S.

Now having brought this King (who was killed the 15th of June) to rest in all Peace ; the 27th of March, his Son, by Sound of the Trumpet, was Proclaimed King, by the Name of CHARLES the First.

His Father's Reign began with a great Plague, and we have shewed what his Reign was : His Son's, with a great

Secret History, &c.

TH E Misfortunes of this Monarch, Son to King James, with the uncouth, dismal, and unexpressible Calamities that happened thereupon, appear yet so great a Sacrifice in the Opinions of all, Interested by the Loss, or Suborned by that natural Propensity, inherent in the most, to expunge or palliate the Lapses of unhappy Princes (whose Indulgence is not seldom so defensive, as to expiate for the Faults of those standing in a far remoter Relation, than that of a Father) that they have hitherto stopped my Pen, from making any farther Pro-

Pro-

Progress that way ; till, led on by a Zeal to Truth, and illuminated from the brighter Judgments of others, I found not only the Imprudent Commissions, but voluntary Omissions of King *James*, so much instrumental in the promotion of our late *Unnatural Wars*: As it may justly be said, He, like *Adam*, by bringing the Crown into so great a Necessity, through profuse Prodigality, became the Original of his Son's Fall: who was, in a manner, compelled to stretch out his Hands towards such Gatherings and Taxes, as were contrary to Law; by which He fell from the Paradise of a Prince, to wit, The Hearts of his People; though the best Politicians extant, might miscarry in their Calculation of a Civil-War, immediately to follow, upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, in Vindication of the number of Titles and Opinions, then current: Yet the Beggary Rabble attending King *James*, not only at his first coming

coming out of *Scotland*, but through his whole Reign, (like a fluent Spring) found still crossing the River *Tweed*, did so far justify the former Conjecture, as it was only thought mistaken, in relation to Time.

King *James* departing this Life, at *Theobald's*, the 27th day of *March*, 1625. in the Fifty Ninth Year of his Age, when He had Reigned Twenty Two Years compleat : In the Afternoon, of the same day, *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, his only Son then living, was Proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

The first thing He did, was performing the Ceremonies of his Father's Funeral ; in which the King himself, in Person, followed as Chief Mourner. He then proceeded to consummate the Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, Younger Daughter of the great *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, whom He had formerly seen

in his Journey, through that Country into Spain.

The King then called a Parliament which Assembled the 18th of June following; to whom He represented, in a short Speech, *The urgent necessity of raising a Subsidy, since it would not agree with his Kingly Honour to shrink from the War with Spain, which his Father, upon solid Consideration, had by consent of Both Houses, undertaken, although prevented, by Death, from putting it in Execution, &c.*

The Parliament would not resolve on raising of Money, till they had first presented their Two Petitions concerning, *Reasons of Religion, and Complaint of their Sufferings*; which Points had been offered to his Father, King James, in the close of his last Parliament; and, by his Death, were left hitherto unanswered: In Both which, they received satisfaction; and likewise an account of the Arrears which were due to the Forces, by

by Sea and Land; together with an estimate of the future Charge and Expence of the *Spanish War*: Upon which, the King obtained, of the *Laiety*, Two Subsidies to be paid by *Protestants*, and Four from *Papists*; and Three Subsidies from the Clergy. In this Parliament, Dr. *Montague*, the King's Chaplain, was questioned for certain Tenets, in his Answer to a Book, called the *Romish Dagger*. Divers Laws were Enacted in this Parliament; as one about the *Observation of the Lord's-Day*; and another, for *Restraint of Tippling in Inns and Ale-Houses*.

On the 11th of July, 1629. the Parliament, by reason of the great *Plague or Sickness*, that then raged, Adjourned till *August the 1st*; where the King, first by Himself, and next by his Secretaries, the Lord *Conway*, and Sir *J. Cook*, declared to them the necessity of setting forth a Fleet, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*: The

Lord Treasurer likewise Instanced the several Summs of Money, which King James Died Indebted to the City of London. This occasioned very warm Debates in the House of Commons; who alledged, *That Evil Counsels guided the King's Designs : That the Treasury was misemployed : That our Necessities arose through Improvidence : That it would be necessary to Petition the King, for a stricter Hand, and abler Council, to manage his Affairs : That though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War ; yet, if things were managed with contrary Designs, and the Treasury were misemployed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in Designs, not guided by sound Counsel : That it was not usual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies in one Parliament, and no Grievances Redressed :* with many other Passages of the like nature. They likewise very much reflected on the Miscarriages of the Duke of Buckingham, who was then

then a Person of a very Considerable Trust: They presented the King with a Petition against *Popish Recusants*, &c. Unto which, a Satisfactory Answer was returned: And thereupon there followed a Debate about Supplies; Some were for Contributing presently, Others Demurred, as disliking the Design in Hand; and, in Conclusion, the Major-part agreed not to give: And then being Incensed against the Duke of *Buckingham*, they began to think of Divesting Him of his Offices, and to require an Account of the Publick Money, &c. To prevent which, the King Dissolved the Parliament.

Now the *War* with *Spain* being intended, both for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and to prevent Disturbances in our *Civil State*; but by reason of the Dissolving of the *Parliament*, the King was Necessitated to take up Money upon *Loan*, of such Persons as were of Ability to Lend: And to

that end, he Directed his Letters to the Lord Lieutenants of the several Counties; *To return the Names of those Men they thought most Sufficient; the Places of their Abodes, and what Sums each might be judged able to Lend.* And to the Persons returned, Letters were Issued forth in the King's Name, shewing;

That His Majesty, having Observed, in the Precedents and Customs of former Times, That all the Kings and Queens of this Realm, upon Extraordinary Occasions, have used either to Resort to those Contributions, which arise from the Generality of the Subjects, or to the Private Helps of some Well-affected in that Particular, by way of Loan: With many Cogent Reasons, shewing, How His present pressing Emergencies required His having Recourse to the Method of Raising Moneys.

Upon the Second of February, was the Coronation; at which the King did
not

not pass through the City in State from the *Tower*, as was usual; but went by Water from *White-Hall* to *Westminster*, for fear of the Danger of the Concourse of People; the *Pestilence* which Raged the Year before, not being quite ceased.

The *King* Summons a *Parliament* to Sit *February* the *Sixth*; And being Met accordingly, the *King* Chose *Sir H. Finch* for their *Speaker*: Then they fell upon Debate of the Publick Grievances; viz. The Miscarrying of the *Fleet* at *Cadiz*; the Evil Counsellors about the *King*, misemploying the *King's Revenue*, on account of the *Subsidies*, and *Three Fifteens*, Granted in the One and twentieth Year of *King James*.

Then the *House of Commons* were very busie in Searching the *Signet-Office*, for the Original of a Letter under the *Signet*, Written to the Mayor of *York*, for Reprieving divers *Prie^{rs}* and *Jesuits*. This was Reported by

Pim, Chair-man to the Committee for *Religion*; but their Proceedings therein was interrupted, by a Message from the *King*, sent by Sir *R. Weston*, demanding a *Supply* for the *English* and *Irish Forces*. This was so highly resented, that one Sir *Clement Cook*, one of the Members, openly Protested; That it was better to Dye by a Foreign Enemy, than to be Destroyed at Home. And Doctor *Turner*, one of the *House*, Seconded him, with many Bold Expressions: Which so Provoked the *King*, that He immediately sent Sir *R. Weston*, to demand Satisfaction of the *House of Commons*: Whereupon Dr. *Turner* presently after, made a *Speech* in Vindication, and for Explaining himself; which was Seconded by Sir *W. Waller*, Sir *J. Elliot*, and many other Members of the *House*.

But, notwithstanding these Discourses, the *Commons* taking the *King's Necessities* into Consideration, Voted
Three

Three Subsidies, and Three Fifteens; and the Bill should be brought in as soon as the Grievances, which were Represented, were Redressed. But the King Observing they did not make as much Hast as He expected, to answer His last Message, Summons both Houses together; and, by the Lord Keeper, Complains to them, For not punishing Dr. Turner, and C. Cook; and likewise, for Searching his Signet-Office; and also Justified the Duke of Buckingham to have Acted nothing of Publick Employment, without His Special Warrant: He blamed them for being too Sparing in the matter of Supply; and for Ordering the Bill not to be brought in, till their Grievances were Heard and Answered, which He would not Admit of.

But the Commons, in Answer, present a Remonstrance, and justifie Themselves.

The King again Earnestly pressed the House of Commons, for a speedy Supply,

Supply, by their Speaker Sir H. Finch; giving them to understand, That if they did not pass the Bill of Subsidy by the end of the Week following, it would enforce Him to take other Resolutions; and if, by their Denial, or Delay, any thing of ill Consequences should fall out, either at Home, or Abroad, He called God and Man to Witness, That He had done his Part to prevent it, by Calling his People together, to Advise with Him; whose Sitting (if they dispatched This, according to his Desire) He resolved to continue, for the Dispatch of other Affairs; and after their Recess, to bring Them again together the next Winter.

Before the Commons sent an Answer, they drew up a Petition to His Majesty; That He would be pleased to Remove from all Places of Trust and Authority, all such Persons as were either Popish Recusants, or, according to the Directions of former Acts of State, justly to be suspected to be such.

And

And herewith they likewise sent a large Scroul, of the Names of all such Noblemen and others, as continued in Places of High Trust in the several Counties of *England*.

Presently after the *Commons* drew up another *Declaration* of Grievances against the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom they Resolved utterly to Overthrow, though much contrary to the Inclination of the *King*; who being thereat Incensed, Dissolved the *Parliament* the very next Day, *June 15th, 1626*. After which, the *King* Published a *Declaration*, shewing the Grounds and Reasons of his Dissolving this, and the former *Parliament*. Then several ways were Resolved on, for Advancing the *King's Revenue*: First, Levying of *Customs* and *Impost* on all Merchandize, (supposed to be settled to the *King* by the Two last *Parliaments*.) Privy Seals also were Issued out, and Benevolence proposed; and, at length, a Commission for a General *Loan* was
Resol-

Resolved on. Sir *Randolph Crew*, for not appearing Vigorous in promoting the *Loan*, was Displaced from being Lord-Chief-Justice; the Bishop of *Lincoln* was likewise Informed against in the *Star-Chamber*, by Sir *J. Lamb*, and Dr. *Sibthorp*, for speaking against the *Loan*, and seeming to Favour the *Puritans* and *Non-Conformists*.

The Assessment of the *Loan*, was generally Opposed; whereupon the People of the lower Rank, were ordered to Appear in the *Military-Yard*, next *St. Martins in the Fields*, before the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to be Listed for Souldiers; it being thought Necessary, that those which refused to Assist with their Purfes in Common Defence, should be forced to Serve in their Persons; Others of better Quality, were bound to Appear at the Council-Table; several of whom were Committed Prisoners to the *Fleet*, *Marshalsea*, *Gate-house*, &c. and among others, Sir *J. Elliot*, who Petitioned

tioned His Majesty, and repeated many Precedents; *That all manner of Taxes, in former King's Reigns, were never Levied, but by the General Consent of the Nobility and Commons, Assembled in Parliament.* However, he was Committed Prisoner to the Gate-House; and upon the same account, Sir P. Haymon was Commanded to Serve the King in the *Palatinate*; which he did accordingly.

Doctor Sibthorp and Dr. Maynwaring, two Eminent Preachers at Court, about this time, Preached up the *Necessity and Duty of the Loan*; One of them Asserting, *That the Prince, had Power to Direct his Council, and make Laws; and that Subjects, if they cannot exhibit Active Obedience, in case the Thing commanded should be against the Law of God, or Nature, or more impossible; yet nevertheless, they ought to yield Passive Obedience; and, in all other Cases, they were bound to Active Obedience.* The other Affirmed, *That*
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the King's Royal Command, in Imposing of Laws and Taxes, though without Common Consent in Parliament; did Oblige the Subject's Conscience, upon Pain of Eternal Damnation.

Which Position being entertain'd by the Court with Applause, the Sermon of Dr. Sibthorp's, call'd, *Apostolick Obedience*, was Licensed by Doctor Laud, Bishop of London; And an express Command was sent from the King to Arch-Bishop Abbot, to Licence it, which he refused: Whereupon he was Suspended from his *Archiepiscopal-See*.

In 1627. (being the Third Year of His Majesty's Reign) the Duke of Buckingham, to clear his Reputation, as to the Charge of Negligence in his Admirallship, with much ado Com-
pleated his Naval Forces, consisting of Six thousand Horse and Foot, in Ten Ships Royal, and Ninety Merchant-Men; with which he set Sail from Portsmouth, June 27th, and Published a
Manifesto

Manifesto, of the K.'s Affections to the Reformed Churches in *France*: But by several Accidents, this Great Design miscarried. At this Time the *Exchequer* was very low; and several late Enterprizes having miscarried, it was Resolved, That a Parliament should be immediately Called, and Writs were accordingly Issued out: A Commission likewise passed under the Great Seal, for raising Moneys through the Kingdom, in nature of an Excise: There was some Discourse of Levying of *Ship-Money*; but it was declined at that Time, because of the Parliament's approaching.

Upon the 17th of *March*, 1627, the Parliament Assembled; and the King, with the *Lord-Keeper*, in two Speeches, earnestly Pressed them to Consider of some speedy way, for Supplying His Majesty's Necessities. The first Thing taken into Consideration, by the *Commons*, was the Grievance of the Kingdom; and the first

first Thing insisted on, was the Case of those Gentlemen, for refusing the *Loan*; and who, notwithstanding their *Habeas Corpus*, were remanded to Prison; and it was Resolved in the House, *Nemine contradicente*, That no Man ought to be Restrained by the *King*, or *Privy-Council*, without some Cause of the Commitment. Secondly, That the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, ought to be Granted upon Request to every Man that is Restrained, though by the Command of the *King* and *Privy-Council*, or any other. Thirdly, That if a Free-man be Imprisoned by the Command of the *King*, &c. and no Cause of such Commitment expressed, and the same be Returned upon an *Habeas Corpus* granted for the said Party, then he ought to be Delivered, or Bailed.

Then the Parliament proceeded to draw up a Petition against *Popish Recusants*; to which the *King* gave them a Satisfactory Answer: After which,

Five Subsidies were granted to the *K.* which gave so great Satisfaction to His Majesty, that He sent them word, *He would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his Predecessors had granted:* Whereupon the *Com-mons* fell upon the Memorable *Petition of Right*, and was afterwards agreed to by both *Houses*, that it should be settled to the *King*. And when the *Petition* was Presented to His Majesty, the Answer following was quickly returned: 'The *King* willeth that Right be done according to Law and Customs of the Realm, and the Statutes be put in due Execution; that His Subjects may have no Cause to complain of any Wrongs or Oppressions contrary to their just Rights and Liberties; to the Preservation whereof, He holds Himself in Conscience as well Obligated, as to that of his Prerogative.

This Answer being read in the *House of Commons*, was not judged Satisf-

Satisfactory ; and therefore, upon their humble Petition, His Majesty, to shew how Free and Candid His Concessions were to His Subjects, sent them this short, but full Answer ; *Soit Droit Fait come il est desire ; Let it be done according to your Desire :* Which Answer mightily pleased both Houses ; and His Majesty, for further Satisfaction, suffered the Commission of *Loan and Excise* to be Cancelled, and received *Abbot and Williams* into his Favour again ; so that all Discontents, on every side, seemed to be Banished.

In 1628. (the Fourth Year of His Majesty's Reign) the Parliament drew up a Remonstrance against *Buckingham*, and against Bishop *Neal*, and Bishop *Laud* ; which they Presented to the King, with the Bill of Subsidies ; His Majesty telling them, *That He expected not such a Return, for His favourable Answer to the Petition of Right ; and as for the Grievances, He would take time to Consider.*

An Information being likewise exhibited against the Duke, in the *Star-Chamber*; an Order was made in that Court, That all Proceedings thereupon should be taken off the File, by the King's express Will and Pleasure: And the King being resolved to hold up the Duke, sent so brisk an Answer to their Remonstrances, as provoked the Commons, to question his taking *Tunnage* and *Poundage*; which being of too valuable a consideration to be hazarded, His Majesty Obviated, by Adjourning the Parliament to the 20. of *Octob.* following. The Earl of *Danby* having Sailed with Fifty Ships, to the Relief of *Rochel*, was repelled with much Loss; so that despairing of Success, he returned back to *Plimouth*: Whereupon another Expedition was resolved on, with a more considerable Navy, and the Duke of *Buckingham* was designed Admiral; who going to *Portsmouth*, in order to hastening of Business, one *John Felton*,

a Lieutenant, Stabbed him to the Heart with a Knife; *Felton*, after he had committed the Fact, did not Fly, but voluntary acknowledged he was the Person; and being asked, What inclined him to commit so Barbarous an Act? he boldly answered, *He Killed him for the Cause of God, and his Country.*

The Parliament was to have met in *October*; but, by reason of some ill News, during this Expedition, they were Adjourned to *January 20.* In which time, the Merchants refusing to pay Custom, had their Goods seized: Complaint thereof being made to the Parliament; the King Summons the Two Houses, to the *Banqueting-House* at *White-Hall*, and requires them to Pass the promised Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, for ending all Differences; since it was too precious a Jewel of the Crown, to be so lightly forgone.

But the Commons answered, *That*
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God's Cause was to be preferred, before
 the King's; and that they would there-
 fore, in the first place, consult about Re-
 ligion: And therefore, they appointed
 one Committee for Religion, and a-
 nother for Civil Matters: In the last,
 was a Complaint, about the Customs;
 and the Farmers of the Customs were
 Challenged; but the King excused
 them, as acting by His Command:
 Yet this being not clear to the Par-
 liament, they would have proceeded
 against them, as Delinquents: Where-
 upon the King sent them word, *That*
in Honour he could not, nor would give
way thereunto: which so incensed the
 Parliament, that they Adjourned
 themselves for some Days; and then
 Meeting again, the King Adjourned
 them till *March 10.* The Commons
 enraged thereat, blamed their Speaker,
 for admitting the Message; and or-
 dered Sir *J. Elliot* to draw up their Re-
 monstrance; which was in very high
 terms, about the *Tonnage and Poundage.*
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The Commons having prepared their Remonstrance, about the Bill of *Tonnage and Poundage*, they required their Speaker to put it to the Vote, whether it should be Presented to the King or not, but the Speaker refused it; and, according to the King's Order, would have gone away; but Mr. *Hollis* would not suffer him to stir, till himself had read the Protestation of the House, consisting of *Three Heads*.

I. *Whosoever shall bring in any Innovation of Religion; or, by Favour, seek to introduce Popery, or Arminianism, or other Opinions, disagreeing to the Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom, and Common-Wealth.*

II. *Whosoever shall Counsel or Advise, the Taking or Levying the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, without being granted by Parliament, or*
shall

shall be an Actor, or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capital Enemy to the Common-Wealth.

III. If any shall yield voluntary, or Pay the same, not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a Betraver of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to the Common-Wealth.

These were so much disliked by the King, that he immediately sent for the Serjeant of Mace out of the House of Commons; but Sir M. Hobart took the Key from him, and locking the Door, would not suffer him to go forth: At which the King being very much offended, sends the Usher of the Black-Rod to Dissolve Them, who was not admitted in: Whereupon the King, with his Guard of Pensioners, were resolved to force their Entrance; which the Commons having notice of, they suddenly went all out of the House: And this was the

the End of this Parliament.

After their Dissolution, the King Published a Declaration, setting forth the Cause thereof; notwithstanding which, it procured great Animosities in the People, against the Prime Ministers of State, which occasioned divers Libels to be dispersed abroad; whereof one against Bishop Laud, was found in the Dean of St. Paul's Yard, to this effect; *Laud, look to thy self, to be sure thy Life is sought; as thou art the Fountain of Wickedness, Repent of thy Monstrous Sin, before thou be taken out of the World: And assure thyself, that neither God, nor the World, can endure such a vile Whisperer and Councillor.*

Some, considering the unsuccessfulness of This, and the Two former Parliaments, advised the King never to Call any more: And, to that end, the famous Book of *Projects* was Published, and Addressed to the King; proposing some Methods, to prevent the

Impertinency of Parliaments (as he called them) from time to time, by the Example of *Lewis XI. of France*; who pretending that the Commons, or Third part, did encroach too much on the Nobility and Clergy, Dissolved it; and never after suffered the People freely to Elect their Representatives, but nominated certain Eminent Persons himself, instead thereof; which is called, *L' Assembly des Notables*, or the Assembly of the Chief or Principal Men.

Upon *May 29. 1630.* the Queen was Delivered of a Son, at *St. James's*, who was Christened *Charles*; who afterwards Succeeded his Father in these Kingdoms, by the Name of *CHARLES the Second.*

In the Year *1633.* (and the Ninth of His Majesty's Reign) the King made a Journey into *Scotland*, and was Solemnly Crowned at *Edinburgh*, *June 18.* And then the King Calls a Parliament, and passed an Act,
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for the *Ratification of the Old Acts*. In this *Scotish Parliament*, that Nation shewed some sign of Disaffection to the King: And the generality of the Common People would not suffer the Bishop of *Dumblaine*, Dean of the King's private Chapple there, to perform Prayers twice a day, after the *English* manner: Neither durst they receive the Communion on their Knees; nor wear a Surplice upon *Sundays* and *Holy-Days*.

In the Year 1634. the design of *Ship-Money* was first set on foot; and Attorney-General *Noy* being consulted about it, he pretends, out of some Old Records, to find an Ancient Precedent of raising a Tax on the Nation, by the Authority of the King alone, for setting out a Navy, in case of Danger; which was thereupon put in Execution: And, by this Tax, the King raised (by Writ) above Twenty Thousand Pounds *per Month*, though not without great Discontent, both
among

among the Clergy and Laiety.

The Discontent in *Scotland* began farther to increase; and a Book was Published, charging the King with indirect Proceedings in the last Parliament, and a tendency to the *Romish* Belief. And now, to blow up these *Scotch* Sparks to a Flame, Cardinal *Richlieu* sent over his Chaplain, and another Gentleman, to heighten their Discontents. The Author of that Book was Seized, and found to be abetted by the Lord *Balmerino*; who was thereupon Arraigned by his Peers, and Sentenced to Death; but Pardoned by the King.

The latter end of the Year, 1635. great Differences arose about Church Matters, chiefly occasioned by Archbishop *Laud's* strict and zealous enjoining Ceremonies; as placing the Communion-Table at the *East*-end of the Church, upon an Ascent with Rails, Altar-fashion; with many other things, not formerly insisted on; and

now vehemently opposed, by those who were formerly called *Puritans* and *Non-Conformists*; which caused them to be charged with Faction: Yet some of the Episcopal Party asserted, *That the Communion-Table ought to stand in the middle of the Quire, according to the Primitive Example:* And a Book, supposed to be Written by Dr. *Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, was Published, to this purpose.

Several Gentlemen of Quality had refused to Pay the *Ship-Money*; and among the rest, Mr. *Hamden* of *Buckingham-shire*; upon which, the King refers the whole Business to the Twelve Judges, in *Michaelmas-Term*, 1636. Ten of whom, that is, *Brampton*, *Finch*, *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Jones*, *Treuer*, *Vernon*, *Berkly*, *Crowly*, *Weston*, gave their Judgments against *Hamden*; but *Hutton* and *Crook* refused it.

His Majesty desiring an Uniformity in *England* and *Scotland*; in pursuance thereof, enjoyned the *Scots* the use

use of the *English* Liturgy , the Surplice, and other Habiliments; and began first in his own Chapple: And in this Year, 1637. Proclamation was made, That the same should be used throughout all Churches, wherewith the Bishops were contented; but not the *Kirk*, nor the People; who were so intraged thereat, that in *Edinborough*, and divers other Parts of that Kingdom, where the Liturgy was begun to be read, committed very great Outrages and Violences, against the Persons that read it; and could not be appeased, by the Power of the Magistrate: And some time after, the *Scots* entred into a solemn League and Covenant, to preserve the Religion there Profest. This Covenant the *Scots* were resolved to maintain; and, to that purpose, they sent for General *Lesly*, and other great Officers, from beyond Sea, providing themselves likewise with Arms and Ammunition. After this, they Elect Commissioners

for the general Assembly ; whom they cite to move the Arch-Bishops and Bishops to appear there, as Guilty Persons ; which being refused, the People present a Bill of Complaint against them, to the Presbiterie at *Edinburgh* ; who accordingly warned them to appear at the next *General Assembly* : At their Meeting, the Bishops sent in a Protestation against their Assembly, which the Covenanters would not vouchsafe to read : And soon after they abolished Episcopacy ; and then prepared for a War.

On which, the King of *England* prepares an Army for *Scotland* ; with which, in the Year, 1639. He Marched in Person into the *North* ; but, by the Mediation of some Persons, a Treaty of Peace was begun, and soon finished ; but a while after broke by the *Scots*. The King therefore resolved, since fair means would not prevail, to force the *Scots* to Reason : And, to that end, considers how to make Pro-

Provisions for Men and Money ; and calling a Secret Cabinet Council, consisting only of Arch-Bishop *Land*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Duke *Hamilton* ; it was concluded, That for the King's Supply, a Parliament must be called in *England*, and another in *Ireland* ; but because the Debates of Parliament would take up some time, it was resolved, That the Lords should Subscribe to Lend the King Money : The Earl of *Strafford* Subscribed 20000*l.* the Duke of *Richmond* , as much : The rest of the Lords, Judges, and Gentry, contributed according to their Ability,

The *Scots*, on the other side, foreseeing the Storm, prepared for their own Defence ; making Treaties in *Sweeden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, and *Poland* : And the Jesuits, who are never Idle, endeavour to Foment the Differences ; to which end, *Con*, the Pope's Nuncio, Sir *Tob. Matthews*, *Read*, and *Maxwel*, Two *Scots*, endeavoured to

perswade the Discontented People,
*That the King designed to Enslave them
 to his Will and Pleasure.*

In the Year 1640. (and the Sixteenth of the King's Reign) a Parliament was called at *Westminster*, April 13. In which, the King presses them for a speedy Supply, to Suppress the Violences of the *Scots*. But whilst the Parliament were Debating, whether the Grievances of the People, or the King's Supply should be first considered, and Matters were in some hopeful Posture, Secretary *Vane*, either accidentally, or on purpose, overthrew all at once ; by declaring, *That the King required Twelve Subsidies*; whereas, at that time, he only desired *Six*: which so enraged the House, and made things so ill, that, by the advice of the *Juncto*, the Parliament was Dissolved, having only Sate Twenty Two Days.

Arch-Bishop *Laud*, by his earnest Proceedings against the *Puritans*, and
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by his strict enjoyning of Ceremonies, especially reviving Old Ceremonies, (which had not been lately observed) procured, to himself, much Hatred from the People; That upon May 9. 1640. a Paper was fixed on the Gate of the *Royal-Exchange*, inciting the Prentices to go and Sack his House at *Lambeth*, the *Monday* after; but the Arch-Bishop had notice of their Design, and provided accordingly; that at the time when they came, endeavouring to enter his House, they were Repulsed.

The King grew daily more offended against the *Scots*, and calls a Select *Juncto*, to consult about them; where the Earl of *Strafford* delivered his Mind in such terms as were afterwards made use of to his Destruction: War against them was resolved on; and Money was to be procured one way or other: The City was Invited to Lend, but refused: The Gentry contributed indifferent freely: So that

with their Assistance, the Army was compleated: The King himself being *Generalissimo*; the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, Lieutenant-Generals: And Marching the Army into the *North*, between *New-Castle* and *Berwick*, there was some Action between the Two Armies; in which, the *Scots* had the Better: A Treaty is then set on Foot; and, to that end, the King receives a Petition from the *Scots*, complaining of their Grievances: To which He Answers, by his Secretary of *Scotland*, *That he expects their particular Demands*, which he receives in Three days, all tending to Call a Parliament in *England*; without which, there could be no Redress for them: They had likewise, before their March into *England*, Published a Declaration, called, *The Intentions of the Army*, viz. *Not to lay down Arms, till the Reformed Religion were settled in both Nations, upon sure grounds; and the Causers and Abet-*

Abettors of their present Troubles, (that is, Arch-Bishop Laud, and the Earl of Strafford) were brought to Publick Justice in Parliament. At the same time, Twelve English Peers drew up a Petition, which they delivered to the King, for the Sitting of the Parliament.

To which the King condescends: And now the time approaching for the Sitting of the Parliament, who accordingly Met, *Novemb. 3. 1640.* Mr. *W. Lenthall* was Chosen Speaker of the House of Commons: And the King, in a Speech, tells them, *That the Scottish Troubles were the cause of their Meeting; and therefore requires them to consider of the most expedient Means for casting them out; and desired a Supply from them, for the maintaining of his Army.*

The Commons began with the Votting down all Monopolies; and all such Members as had any Benefit by them, were Vottd out of the *House:*

House: They then Voted down *Ship-Money*, with the Opinion of the Judges thereupon, to be Illegal; and a Charge of High-Treason was ordered to be Drawn up against Eight of them; and they resolved to begin with the Lord-Keeper *Finch*. December 11th, Alderman *Pennington*, and some hundreds of Citizens, presented a Petition, Subscribed by Fifteen thousand Hands, against *Church-Discipline*, and *Ceremonies*; and a while after the *House of Commons* Voted, *That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation, have no Power to make Canons or Laws, without Parliaments; and that the Canons are against the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, the King's Prerogative, and the Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments; and tend to Faction and Sedition.*

In pursuance hereof, a Charge was ordered to be drawn up against Archbishop *Laud*, as the Principal Framer of those *Canons*, and other *Delinquencies*;

cies; which Impeachment was Se-
 conded by another from the *Scotch*
 Commissioners: Upon which he was
 Committed to the *Black-Rod*; and
 Ten Weeks after Voted Guilty of
 High-Treason, and sent to the *Tower*.
 The *Scots* likewise preferred a Charge
 against the Earl of *Strafford*, then in
 Custody, requiring Justice against
 them both, as the great Incendiaries
 and Disturbers both of *Church* and
State.

The Lord-Keeper *Finch* was the
 next Person designed to be Censured;
 and notwithstanding a Speech made
 in his own Vindication, He was Vo-
 ted a Traytor upon several Accounts:
 But he fore-saw the Storm, and went
 over into *Holland*.

Upon Monday, *March* 26. 1640,
 the Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal began in
Westminster-Hall, the *King*, *Queen*,
 and *Prince*, being present; and the
Commons, being there likewise as a
 Committee, at the managing their
 Accu-

Accusation: The Earl of *Strafford*, though he had but short Warning, yet made a Noble Defence. The Accusation was managed by Mr. *Pym*, consisting of Twenty eight Articles; to most of which, the Earl made particular Replies.

But the *Commons* were resolved to Prosecute him to Death; and had therefore (not only procured the *Parliament of Ireland* to Prosecute him there as Guilty of High-Treason) but resolved to proceed against him by Bill of Attainder, which they proceeded to dispatch: And *April* 19. 1641. they Voted the Earl Guilty of High-Treason, upon the Evidence of Secretary *Vane*, and his Notes: And upon the 25th, they passed the Bill, and sent it to the Lords, for their Concurrence; who a few Days after, likewise agreed to it.

The Bill being finished, and the *K.* fearing the Conclusion, and being willing to do some good Office to
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the Earl, His Majesty, *May 1. 1641,*
 Calls both *Houses* together, and in a
 Speech, tells them; *That he had been*
present at the Hearing that great Cause;
and that in his Conscience, positively
he could not Condemn him of High-
Treason, and yet could not clear him of
Misdemeanours; but hoped a way might
be found out to Satisfie Justice, and their
Fears, without oppressing his Conscience.
 And so dismissed them, to their great
 Discontent: Which was propogated
 so far, that *May 3.* were One thousand
 Citizens, most of them Armed, came
 thronging down to *Westminster,* cry-
 ing out for Justice against the Earl of
Strafford. The Commons had now
 finished a Bill, *for the Continuance of the*
Parliament; which having passed the
 Lords, was tendred to the King to be
 Signed; together with the Bill for the
 Attainder of the E. of *Strafford:* His
 Majesty Answered; That on *Monday*
 following He would Satisfie them; and
 on the *Sunday,* the King spent the whole
 Day with the Judges and Bishops, in
 Consulting:

Consulting: The Judges told him; *That in Point of Law, (according to the Oath made by Sir Henry Vane) he was Guilty of Treason.* The Bishops all agreed; *That the King might shew Mercy without Scruple; and that he could not Condemn the Earl, if he did not think him Guilty.* This was to matter of Fact; but as to matter of Law, He was to rest in the Opinion of the Judges.

Monday, May 10. the King gives Commission to several Lords to Pass two Bills; One, *The Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford.* The Other, *For continuing the Parliament during the pleasure of both Houses.* Which last Act was occasioned, for Satisfying the Scots.

The next Day the King being troubled about the Earl, writes a Letter to the *House of Lords*, telling them; *That whereas Justice had been satisfied in his Condemnation, an intermixture of Mercy would not now be unseasonable; and there-*

therefore He desired them, that if it might be done without any Discontent to the People, the Earl might be permitted to fulfil the Natural Course of his Life in close Imprisonment, Sequestred from all Publick Affairs; provided he never attempted to make an Escape: However He thought it a Work of Charity, to Reprieve him till Saturday. But nothing could be Obtained in Favour of him.

The Fall of this Powerful Man, so startled other great Officers of State, that several Resigned their Places.

July 5. A Charge was brought into the *House of Commons*, against Dr. *Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, being Accused of Treasonable Misdemeanours in his Diocess.

August 6. Both the *English* and *Scotch* Armies were Disbanded; and Four Days after the *King* went towards *Scotland*, and was Entertained with great Demonstrations of Affection by that Nation, and Conferred several

veral Places of Honour and Power upon divers of them : He Confirmed likewise the Treaty between the Two Nations, by Act of Parliament.

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^{Massa}
^{in Irela} October 23, 1641. A Horrid and Notorious Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which was in divers Places managed with such Secresie, that it was not Discovered at *Dublin* till the Night before it was to be put in Execution ; but, in most other Places of the Kingdom, it was carried on with such Fury, That two hundred thousand *English* Men, Women, and Children, were in a short Space barbarously Murdered.

The *Irish* to Dishearten the *English* from any Resistance, bragged, That the Queen was with their Army ; That the King would come amongst them also, and Assist them : That they did but maintain His Cause against the Puritans : That they had the King's Commission for what they did. The Lords Justices sent Sir *H. Spotswood*

to the *King*, then in *Scotland*, with an Account of all that happened : He dispatched Sir *J. Stuart*, with Instructions to the Lords of the *Privy-Council* in *Ireland*; and to carry all the Money, his present Stores would supply. He likewise sent an Express to the Parliament of *England*, (as being near) for their Assistance; but they excused it: And indeed, the *Irish* pretended that the *Scots* were in Confederacy with them; and to seem to Confirm it, they abstained, for some time, from destroying the Estates, or Murdering any of that Nation. And on the other-side, to Encourage the *Irish*, they produced pretended Letters; wherein they said, They were Informed from *England*; That the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the *Irish* should be Compelled to the Protestant Worship; and for the First Offence in refusing, to Forfeit all their Goods; for the Second, their Estates; and for the Third, their Lives: And
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besides this, they presented them with the Hopes of Liberty: That the *English* Yoak should be shaken off: That they should have a *King* of their own Nation; and that then all the Goods and Estates of the *English* should be divided amongst them. With these Motives of Spoil and Liberty, which were strengthened by the Former, of *Religion*, the Rebellion was carried on throughout the whole Kingdom.

The *King* being returned out of *Scotland*, December 2d. Summoned both *Houses* together, and tells them; *That he had staid in Scotland longer than He expected, yet not fruitlessly; for He had given full Satisfaction to the Nation; but cannot choose but take Notice of, and Wonder at the unexpected Distractions He finds at Home; and then Commends to them the State of Ireland.*

After which, the *Commons* Ordered a Select Committee to draw up a Petition and Remonstrance to the *King*:
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The One was against the Bishops, and Oppressions in Church-Government; and for Punishing the Authors of it. In the Other was Contained all the Miscarriages and Misfortunes, since the beginning of His Majesty's Reign.

The King Issued out a Declaration, in Answer to the Remonstrance; the Summ of which was; *That He thought He had given sufficient Satisfaction to his People's Fears and Jealousies, concerning Religion, Liberties, and Civil Interests; by the Bills which He hath Passed this Parliament: Desiring the Misunderstandings might be removed on either Side; and that the Bleeding Condition of Ireland might persuade them to Unity, for the Relief of that Unhappy Kingdom.*

Not long after happened the Insolent Tumults of the London Apprentices at *White-Hall*, and *Westminster*. December 28. the King sends a Message to the Lords; *That He would raise ten Thousand Volunteers for Ireland,*

land, if the *Commons* would undertake to Pay them.

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Sometime after, the *King*, upon Information, that the Lord *Kimbolton*, and Five of the *House of Commons*, viz. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Stroud*, had Correspondence with the *Scots*, and Countenanced the late *City-Tumults*; He thereupon Ordered their Trunks, Studies, and Chambers to be Sealed up, and their Persons Seized; the Former of which was done, but having timely Notice, they went aside: Upon which the *Commons*, the same Day, Voted high against these Actions of the *King*. Hereupon the *King* Charges the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members, with several Articles; and Acquaints both *Houses*, That He did intend to Prosecute them for High-Treason; and required that their Persons might be Secured: And the next Day, the *King*, Attended with His Guard of Pensioners, and some

some Hundreds of Gentlemen, went to the *House of Commons*; and the Guard staying without, the King, with the *Palsgrave*, entred the *House*; at whose Entrance, the Speaker rises out of the Chair, and the King sitting down therein, views the *Houses* round, and perceives the Birds He aimed at were flown; whereupon He tells them, *That He came to look for those Five Members, whom He had Accused of High-Treason; and was resolved to have them, where-ever He found them; and expected to have them sent to Him, as soon as they should come to the House; but would not have them think, that this Act of His was any Violation of Parliament.*

This Act of the King's was so highly resented by the *House*, that the next day, Jan. 5. the *Commons* Voted it a *Breach of Priviledge*: And Reports were raised in the City, That He intended Violence against the *House of Commons*; and came thither with

with Force, to Murther several Members; and used threatning Speeches against the *Parliament*; with which the City was so possessed, that the Guards and Watches were Set, as if some desperate Assault were to be made upon the City: And *Both Houses* Adjourned till the *Tuesday* following; appointing a Committee, in the mean time, to sit at *Guild-Hall*, to consider of the most effectual Means for their Security. And then they Published a Declaration, *That whosoever shall Arrest any Member of Parliament, by Warrant from the King only, is guilty of the Breach of Priviledges of Parliament: And likewise, That all those who Attended the King, when He came to Demand the Five Members, were guilty of a Traiterous Design against the King and Parliament: That the Proclamation for Apprehending and Imprisoning the said Members, was False, Scandalous, and Illegal; and not of Validity enough to hinder them from Attending the House:*

House: Wherefore, They intreat His Majesty to discover the Names of those Informers, and Evil Councillors; declaring all such Persons to be Publick Enemies to the State.

In the mean time, the *Londoners* came thronging to *Westminster*, with Petitions, inveighing Bitterly against some of the Peers; but especially the Bishops, whom they Affronted as they went to the House: Upon which they were so affrighted, that Twelve Bishops absent themselves from the *House of Lords*, drawing up a Protestation against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves Null, and of none Effect, which had Passed, or should Pass, during their forced Absence. Presently after which, at a Conference between Both Houses, it was agreed, That this Protestation of the Twelve Bishops, did extend to the deep intrenching on the Fundamental Priviledges, and Being of Parliaments: And, in a short time,

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they were Accused of High-Treason, Seized, and brought on their Knees at the Lords-Bar: Ten of whom were Committed to the *Tower*; and the other Two, in regard of their Age, to the *Black-Rod*.

The King, at this Time, thinking Himself unsafe without a Guard, accepted of the offer of some Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court*, to be a Guard to Him; which, instead of Security, was (by Subtil Men) made more prejudicial to the King; by taking this occasion, to raise the Rage and Jealousie of the City against Him: For, at Midnight, there were cries made in the Streets of *London*, *That all the People should rise to their Defence; for the King, with His Papists, were come to Fire the City, and Cut their Throats in their Beds*: The People, by often receiving such Alarms, being terrified from Sleep, the Impressions of those Night-fears lay long upon their Spirits in the Day, and filled them almost
with

with Madness; of which the King Complained to the *Common-Council* of *London*.

But the *Commons*, to obviate this, upon Suspicion of some Design upon their Persons, Petition the King for a Guard, to be Commanded by the Earl of *Essex*; of whose Fidelity to the King and State, no question was ever made. This Petition was denied by the King, as not willing to have them too strong; yet promised to take such Care for their Security from Violence, as He would for the Preservation of Himself and Children.

This Answer being unsatisfactory, the City joyns with them; and in their *Common-Council*, drew up a Petition, complaining, *That the Trade of the City was decayed, to the utter Ruine of the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, by the Design of Papists, Foreigners, and Domesticks (more particularly their fomenting the Irish Rebellion) by changing the*

Constable of the Tower, and making Preparation there; by the Fortifying of White-Hall; and the King's late Invasion of the House of Commons; Whereupon they Pray, That, by the Parliament's Advice, the Protestants in Ireland may be Relieved: The Tower to be put into the Hands of Persons of Trust: A Guard appointed for the Safety of the Parliament: And that the Five Members may not be Restrained, nor Proceeded against, but by the Priviledges of Parliament.

To their Petition the King returned Answer, That He could not Express a greater sence of Ireland, than He had done: That, meerly to satisfie the City, He had removed a Worthy Person from the Charge of the Tower: And that the Tumults had caused Him to Fortifie White-Hall, for the Security of His own Person: That His going to the House of Commons, was to Apprehend those Five Members for Treason, to which the Priviledges of Parliament could not extend;
and

and that He would proceed against them no otherwise than Legally.

And now such numbers of ordinary People daily gathered about *Westminster* and *White-Hall*, that the King (doubting of their Intentions) thought fit to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*; taking with Him, the Queen, Prince, and Duke of *York*; where He and his Retinue, and Guard quickly encreased, by accession of divers of the Gentry. But the next day, the Five Members were Triumphantly Guarded to *Westminster*, by a great number of Citizens and Sea-men; with Hundreds of Boats and Barges, with Guns in them, shouting and hallowing as they passed by *White-Hall*; and making large Protestations at *Westminster*, of their constant Adherence and Fidelity to the Parliament. About this time, the Parliament had notice, that the Lord *Digby*, and Col. *Lunsford*, were raising Troops of Horse at *Kingston*, where the County Magazine was lodged:

Whereupon they order, *That the County Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and the Trained-Bands, shall take care to secure the Countries, and their Magazines.* Lunsford was Seized, and sent to the Tower; but Digby escaped beyond Sea.

The King removed to Royston; at which time, Sir E. Herbert, Attorney-General, is questioned at the Lords-Bar, to Answer concerning the Articles against the *Five Members*; where it had gone hard with him, if the King (at his earnest Supplication) had not taken him off, by a Letter to the Lord-Keeper Littleton; wherein the King clears the Attorney-General, and takes the whole Business upon Himself; yet concludes, *That finding Cause, wholly to desist from Proceeding against the Persons Accused, He had Commanded his Attorney-General to proceed no farther therein, nor to produce nor discover any Proof concerning the same.*

Jan. 20. The King sends a Message to the Parliament, proposing the Security

curity of his own just Rights, and Royal Authority ; and, *That since particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too great to be Presented by themselves, that They would Comprize and Digest them into one entire Body, and send them to Him: And it should then appear, how ready He would be, to equal or exceed the greatest Examples of the most Indulgent Princes, in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.*

After this, the *Commons* move the *Lords* to joyn with them, in Petitioning for the *Militia*, and the Command of the *Tower* ; but They not complying, the *House of Commons* singly of themselves, importune the King, to put those things into the Hands of the *Parliament* ; as the only available Means, for the removal of their Fears and Jealousies. But the King not willing to part with the Principal Jewels of his Crown, signified to them, *That He thought the*

Militia to be lawfully subject to no Command but his Own; and therefore would not let it go out of his Hands: That he had preferred to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, a Person of known Fortune, and unquestionable Reputation; and that he would Prefer none but such, to the Command of his Forts and Castles: Yet would not intrust the Power of Conferring those Places and Dignities from Himself; it being derived to Him, from his Ancestors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. Yet the Commons would not desist, but again Petitioned; and were again refused. Soon after, divers Petitions were delivered to the Parliament, against the Votes of Popish Lords and Bishops in the House of Peers; as One from Suffolk, with 1500 Hands; Another from London, with 2000 Hands; and a Third from the City-Dames: To all which were Answered, That the Commons had already endeavoured Relief from the Lords, in their Requests; and should so

continue till Redress were obtained. And shortly after, the Lords Passed the Bill, *For disabling all Persons in Holy-Orders, to have any place or Vote in Parliament; or to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction.* At the sametime, they Petition the King again for the *Militia*, and for clearing *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members: By his Answer to Both, they understood his Resolution; *Not to trust the Militia out of Himself; nor to clear the Members, but only by a general Pardon;* which was unsatisfactory.

The King now at *Hampton-Court*, thought fit to send for all his Domestic Servants of either Houses of Parliament; and particularly, the Earls of *Essex* and *Holland*; but they refused to come.

In the mean time, Mr. *Pym*, at a Conference, complaining of the general flocking of Papists into Ireland, affirmed, *That since the Lieutenant had ordered a stop upon the Ports, against*

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His Majestyes warrant for y^e Rebellion in Ireland; as Mr Pym relates. all

all Irish Papists, many of the chief Commanders, now in the head of the Rebels, had been licensed to pass thither, by his Majesty's immediate Warrant. The King was highly offended at this Speech, which He signified to the House; who, in their Answer to his Message, justify Mr. Pym's words to be the Sense of the House; and that they had yet in safe Custody, the Lord Delvin, Sir G. Hamilton, Col. Butler, Brother to the Lord Miniard, now in Rebellion, and one of the Lord Nettervil's Sons: To which the King replies, That he thought Mr. Pym's Speech was not so well grounded, as it ought to have been; and that the aforementioned Persons had their Passages granted, before he knew of the Parliaments Order of Restraint; and therefore expected their Declaration for his Vindication from that odious Calumny of Conniving, or underhand Favouring that Horrid Rebellion.

But the King's Desire proved fruitless;

less; for they next moved to have Sir *J. Byron* turned out, from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*; and, at their nomination, Sir *J. Coniers* Succeeded.

They then proceeded to Name fit Persons, for Trust of the *Militia*, of the several Counties: And, by Act of Parliament, disabled all Clergy-Men from exercising Temporal Jurisdiction: The *Commons* then drew up a Petition, for Vindicating their Five Members; wherein they desire the King to send them the Informers against the said Members; or otherwise, to desert their Prosecution would not suffice; because the whole Parliament was concerned in the Charge. And then they proceeded to settle the *Militia*, for the defence of the Parliament, *Tower*, and City of *London*, under the Command of Maj. General *Skipton*, who had formerly been an experienced Soldier in the *Low Countries*. The King had deferred His Answer to their Petition, for settling the
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the *Militia* of the Counties, according to their nomination, till His Return from *Dover*; where He took leave of his Wife and Daughter; and so returned to *Greenwich*; from whence He sent to *Hampton-Court*, for his Two Eldest Sons to come to him; though contrary to the Mind of the Parliament, who would have dissuaded Him from it.

The King being now at *Greenwich*, sends this Answer to the Petition, about the *Militia*; *That he is willing to condescend to all the Proposals about the Militia of the Counties, and the Persons mentioned, but not of London, and other Corporations; whose Government, in that particular, he thought it neither Justice nor Policy to alter; but would not consent to divest Himself of the Power of the County Militia, for an indefinite Time, but for some limited Space.* This Answer did not satisfy; so that the Breach growing every day wider, the King declined these Parts,
and

and the Parliament, and removed to *Theobald's* ; taking with Him, the Prince, and Duke of York.

About the beginning of *March*; He receives a Petition from the Parliament; wherein they require the *Militia* more resolutely than before; affirming, *That in case of denial, the Eminent Dangers would constrain them to dispose of it by the Authority of Parliament*; desiring also, *That he would make his Abode near London, and the Parliament*; and continue the Prince at some of his Houses near the City, for the better carrying on of Affairs, and preventing the Peoples Jealousies and Fears. All which being refused; They presently Order, *That the Kingdom be put into a posture of Defence, in such a way as was agreed upon by Parliament*; and a Committee to prepare a publick Declaration from these Heads. 1. *The Just Causes of the Fears and Jealousies given to the Parliament*; at the same time clearing them-

themselves from any Jealousies conceived against Himself. 2. To Consider of all Matters arising from his Majesty's Message, and what was fit to be done.

And now began our Troubles, and all the Miseries of a Civil-War: The Parliament every day entertaining new Jealousies and Suspicions of the King's Actions; which, howsoever in Complement, they made shew of imputing only to his Evil Council; yet obliquely had too great a Reflection on his Person. They now proceed, on a suddain, to make great Preparations both by Sea and Land: And the Earl of Northumberland, Admiral of *England*, is commanded to Rig the King's Ships, and fit them for Sea: And likewise all Masters and Owners of Ships, were perswaded to do the like. The Beacons were prepared, Sea-Marks set up; and extraordinary Postings up and down with Pacquets; All sad Prognosticks of the Calamities ensuing.

August

August 22. 1642. The King comes to Nottingham, and there Erects His Standard; to which, some Numbers resorted; but far short of what was Expected: And three Days after, the King sends a Message to the Parliament, to propose a Treaty: The Messengers were, the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Culpeper, and Sir W. Udall: None of which were suffered to Set in the House, to deliver their Errand; therefore it was sent in by the Usher of the Black-Rod; to which the Parliament Answered: That until His Majesty shall recal His Proclamations and Declarations of Treason, against the Earl of Essex, and Them, and their Adherents: And unless the King's Standard, now Set up in pursuance thereof, be taken down, They cannot, by the Fundamental Priviledges of Parliament, give His Majesty another Answer.

The King Replies, That He never intended to Declare the Parliament Tray-

Traytors, or Set up his Standard against them; but if they Resolve to Treat, either Party shall Revoke their Declarations against all persons as Traytors, and the same Day to take down his Standard.

To this they Answer; That the Difference could not any ways be concluded, unless He would forsake his Evil Counsellors, and return to his Parliament. And accordingly, September 6th, They Order and Declare, That the Arms which they have, or shall take up for the Parliament, Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, shall not be laid down, until the King withdraw his Protection from such Persons as are, or shall be Voted Delinquents, and shall leave them to Justice.

The War being now begun, the New-raised Souldiers committed many Outrages upon the Country-people; which both King and Parliament, upon Complaint, endeavour to Rectifie. The King Himself was now Generalissimo

ralissimo over his Own; His Captain-General was first, the Marquess of *Hartford*, and afterwards the Earl of *Lindsey*; and the Earl of *Essex* for the *Parliament*: The *King's* Forces received the first Repulse at *Hull*, by Sir *John Hotham*, and Sir *John Meldrum*; and the *King* takes up his Quarters at *Shrewsbury*: *Portsmouth* was next Surrendred to the *Parliament*; and presently after, Sir *John Byron* takes *Worcester* for the *King*: In *September*, the two Princes Palatines, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, Arrived in *England*; who were presently Entertained, and put into Command by the *King*.

This uncivil *Civil-War* was carried on in General, with all the Ruines and Desolations imaginable; wherein all Bonds of *Religion, Alliance, and Friendship*, were utterly destroyed: Wherein Fathers and Children, Kindred and Acquaintances, became unnatural Enemies to each other. In which miserable Condition, this Nation continued

nued for near Four Years; viz. From *August* the 22d, 1642. (the Time the *King* Set up his *Standard* at *Nottingham*) to *May* the 6th, 1646. (the time when the *King*, quitting all Hopes, put Himself into the Protection of the *Scotch-Army* at *Newark*.) During this process of Time, several Messages past, divers Treaties set on foot, and other Overtures of Accommodation; but all came to no Effect. The War in *England* being now (after so much Blood-shed and Ruine) brought to some End; the *Parliament* were at leisure to Dispute with the *Scots*, concerning the Keeping of the *King*; who fearing lest *Fairfax* should fall upon them, and compel them to Deliver Him up, Retreated further *Northwards*, towards *New-Castle*: The *Parliament* sent an Invitation to the Prince of *Wales*, to come to *London*, with promise of Honour and Safety; but He did not think fit to venture.

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The *King* sends from *New-castle* to the *Army*, about a *Treaty*; and the *House of Commons* Vote, That the *King's Person* should be demanded of the *Scots*; and that their whole *Army* return home, upon Receipt of part of their *Arrears*; the rest to be sent after them: And a Committee is appointed to Treat with the *Scotch Commissioners*, about drawing up Propositions to be sent to the *King*; wherein much Time was spent in Wrangling; whilst the *English* deny the *Scots* to have any Right in the Disposal of the *King* of *England*; and the *Scots* as stiffly alledged, He was their *King*, as much as of the *English*; and they had as good Right to Dispose of the *King* in *England*, as the *English* could Challenge in *Scotland*: But at last they agreed on Sixteen General Propositions, which were presented to the *King* at *New-castle*, July the 27. 1646. But these Propositions were such, that the *King* did not think fit to Comply withal. The

The Scots General Assembly sent a Remonstrance to the King, Desiring Him to settle Matters in England, according to the Covenant, &c. But all this could not prevail; and therefore the Scots, who had hitherto so sharply Disputed about the Disposal of the King's Person, are Content upon the Receipt of Two hundred thousand Pounds, to depart Home, and leave the King in the Power of the Parliament; who Voted Him to Holmby-House, and sent their Commissioners to receive Him from the Scots at Newcastle: To whom, February the 8th, 1646. He was accordingly Delivered; and the Scots returned home.

Feb. the 8th, the King sets forward with the Commissioners for Holmby, and after a Fortnight, came to His Journeys-end; being met by the way by General Fairfax, and many of his Officers.

Some Petitions from Essex, and other Places, are Presented to the Parliament,

For
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liament; inveighing against the Proceedings of the Army; which much vexed the Souldiers, who sharply Apologize for themselves.

And now the Army, to the great Terror of the Parliament, March towards London, and came as far as St. Alban's; notwithstanding a Message from Both Houses, not to come within Twenty Five Miles of the City; which the General excused, saying, That the Army was come thither before they received the Parliament's Desire: And here he obtains a Month's Pay: The Parliament Vote, That the General be required to deliver the Person of the King to the former Commissioners, who were to bring him to Richmond, that Propositions of Peace might be speedily Presented to His Majesty; and that Collonel Rossiter, and his Regiment, might Guard His Person.

The

The Army being much behind-hand in Arrears, Petition the Parliament; who, upon consideration, order them some Money, at the present; and then drew up Propositions of Peace to be sent to the King at Hampton-Court; the same in substance with those offered at Newcastle, and had the like effect: The business of Episcopacy being always the main Objection, which the Parliament were resolved to Abolish; and the King preferring That, before all other Respects, would rather lose All, than consent thereunto.

The Scots Commissioners send a Letter, Novemb. 6. 1647. to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and require, That the KING may be admitted to a Personal Treaty; or at least, That He should not be carried from Hampton-Court violently, but that Commissioners of Both Parliaments may freely pass to and from Him,

nd- Him, to Treat for the Settlement of
 rli- the Kingdom.

on, After which, divers Messages past
 pr- between the King and the Parlia-
 ons- ment; and several Conferences and
 at- Treaties were set on Foot, particu-
 ab- larly that of *Heuderson's*; but they
 ew- proving fruitless, the Parliament,
 he- with most of the Officers of the Ar-
 ys- my, that joyned with them, brought
 ar- the KING to Tryal, by a Judica-
 sh- ture of their own setting-up, which
 ore- proved His Ruine.

F I N I S.